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The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

NOV 18 1929

Volume XXV

DECEMBER, 1929

Number 3

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PRINTED AT
THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS IOWA

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States.

Editors-in-Chief

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Business Manager

ROY C. FLICKINGER
University of Iowa

Correspondence should be addressed as follows:

Concerning Manuscripts and Book Reviews, in general to Roy C. Flickinger, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. But manuscripts from the New England States should be sent to Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut; from the Pacific States to Herbert C. Nutting, University of California, Berkeley, California.

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL is printed monthly except in July, August, and September by The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The subscription price is \$2.50 per year; the price of single copies is 30 cents. Orders for service of less than a year will be charged at the single-copy rate. Postage is prepaid by the publishers on all orders from the United States, Mexico, Cuba, Porto Rico, Panama Canal Zone, Republic of Panama, Bolivia, Colombia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Peru, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Samoan Islands, Shanghai. For all other countries in the Postal Union, an extra charge of 25 cents is made on annual subscriptions (total \$2.75); on single copies 3 cents (total 33 cents).

The membership fee in each of the associations named above is \$2.00 a year, with the addition of 25 cents a year for Canadian members, for postage. This fee includes subscription to the JOURNAL at a special rate. See back cover page.

Twenty-five reprints are furnished free to the authors of major articles, book reviews, and notes. Additional reprints, if ordered in advance, are supplied at cost. Orders for additional reprints should accompany the corrected proof.

Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on October 16, 1922, and additional entry as second-class matter at Ann Arbor, Michigan, under Act of August 24, 1912. Acceptance for mailing at the special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on October 16, 1922.

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXV

DECEMBER, 1929

NUMBER 3

Editorial

THE BUSINESS SIDE OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

Inasmuch as the fiscal year of the Association ends August 31, it is impossible for the Treasurer to present a complete annual report for the current year at the time of the annual meeting in March or April. It has therefore become the custom to use the editorial pages of an autumn issue of the JOURNAL for this purpose. Accordingly the Treasurer's report for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1929, is printed on the following page.

It will be seen that the receipts for the year exceeded the disbursements by \$228.68 and that cash and bonds on hand at the beginning of the year 1929-1930 amounted to \$5,791.94 as against \$5,013.26 on hand at the beginning of the year 1928-29.

A comparison of the present report with the report for 1927-1928 shows an increase of \$181.14 in the amount received from membership dues and member's subscriptions, which are and must continue to be the chief source of income for the Association. The income from annual subscriptions to the JOURNAL outside the membership of our Association or of affiliated Associations decreased \$7.55 as compared with the preceding fiscal year. The advertising section yielded a net income of \$738.76, which is 70% larger than for the preceding year.

TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Fiscal Year Extending from Sept. 1, 1928, to Aug. 31, 1929

CASH IN FARMERS & MECHANICS BANK SEPTEMBER 1, 1928 . . . \$ 2,563.26

RECEIPTS FOR THE YEAR

Members' Dues and Members' Subscriptions.	\$6,210.07
Annual Subscriptions	2,582.22
Classical Association of the Atlantic States	662.25
Classical Association of the New England States	906.50
Classical Association of the Pacific States	160.25
Student Subscriptions	23.50
Members' Subscriptions to <i>Classical Philology</i>	513.49
Advertising (1928-1929)	1,250.00
Bonds (Matured)	250.00
Interest from Bonds	158.71
Sale of CLASSICAL JOURNALS from Stock on Hand	277.76
Sale of Reprints	59.04
Addressograph Service	12.11
Subscription Collections for <i>Art and Archaeology</i>	8.00

Total Receipts	13,073.90
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Total Cash to be accounted for	\$15,637.16
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DISBURSEMENTS

Printing and Mailing of CLASSICAL JOURNAL

(9 issues) 7,714.30

Expenses of Editors' and Business Manager's Office . . . 168.31

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer's Office:

Clerical Service	\$2,098.89
Postage	282.85
Office Equipment	169.75
Printing	40.25
Auditing Treasurer's Accounts (1927-1928)	25.00
Office Supplies	64.67
Insurance & Bond Premiums	21.40
Sundries	46.97
	2,749.78

Bond Purchases 804.34

<i>Classical Philology</i> Subscriptions (Univ. of Chicago Press)	513.49
---	--------

<i>Art and Archaeology</i> Subscriptions	8.00
--	------

Expenses of Vice-Presidents (Membership Campaign)	353.45
---	--------

Expenses of Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting (Chicago)	246.55
---	--------

Southern Section Meeting (Jackson, Miss.) . . .	100.00
Gift—toward the Purchase of "Sandys' Tablet" . . .	15.00
Purchase of Old JOURNALS	172.00

Total Disbursements	\$12,845.22
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CASH IN FARMERS & MECHANICS BANK AUGUST 31, 1929	2,791.94
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Total Cash Accounted for	\$15,637.16
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REAL ESTATE BONDS ON HAND AUGUST 31, 1929.

No. M 4968 Western Gas and Electric Co. . .	\$1,000.00
No. D 168 Graybar Building, Inc.	500.00
No. 13669 Bankers Trust Co. Certificate . . .	500.00
No. 13668 Bankers Trust Co. Certificate . . .	500.00
No. 13667 Bankers Trust Co. Certificate . . .	500.00

\$ 3,000.00

SECRETARY'S REPORT

The following report on membership in the Association and on subscriptions to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL was presented at the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Association held at Chicago, March 28, 29, and 30, 1929, and is as of March 15, 1929. Table I shows by states the total number of members in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and also the number of student subscribers, annual subscribers, gift copies to seniors, and subscribers to *Classical Philology*. Tables II and III show the total number of members in the Classical Associations of New England and of the Pacific States respectively and the number of annual subscribers in these territories. Table IV shows the number of members of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States who are subscribers to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL and also the number of annual subscribers within that territory. Table V is a summary showing the total circulation of the JOURNAL for April, 1929.

The report shows a net increase of 64 members in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, a net increase of 59 members in the Classical Association of New England, a net decrease of 6 members in the Classical Association of the Pacific States, and a net increase of 65 in the number of members of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States subscribing to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL through their Secretary. There was a net increase of 31 in the number of regular annual subscribers outside the membership of the four Classical Associations and a decrease of 54 in the number of student subscrip-

tions at the reduced rate of \$1.25 per year. There was an increase of 28 in the number of college seniors who received gift copies of the April, May, and June numbers of the JOURNAL.

TABLE I. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH

	March 15, 1929						March 31, 1928					
	Memb.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Ann'l Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total	C. P.	Memb.	Paid Stu. Sub.	Ann'l Sub.	Free Cop. to Srs.	Total	C. P.
Alabama	47		11		58	1	35		12	11	58	1
Arkansas	30		5	1	36	2	39		5		44	1
Colorado	58	11	11	6	86	2	68	12	16	4	100	3
Florida	50		10	22	82	1	42		10	15	67	1
Georgia	48		13		61	3	48	1	12		61	3
Illinois	392		74	25	491	24	382	5	81	12	480	24
Indiana	303		47	69	419	9	300	1	47	58	406	10
Iowa	173		21	33	227	7	174	2	22	25	223	8
Kansas	141		33	12	186	5	147		26	10	183	3
Kentucky	85		16	15	116		83		13	4	100	4
Louisiana	37		9	10	56	4	36	5	12	4	57	5
Michigan	284	1	48	31	364	12	274		48	39	361	17
Minnesota	93		20	15	128	8	89		21	36	146	6
Mississippi	90		23	13	126	2	55	2	18	10	85	1
Missouri	157		28	13	198	11	139		24	17	180	11
Nebraska	105		18		123	3	119		18	10	147	4
New Mexico	9		1		10	2	10		1		11	2
North Carolina	88	6	27	17	138	3	68	4	23	22	117	3
North Dakota	27		1		28	2	26		1	7	34	2
Ohio	369		42	32	443	25	400		54	25	479	30
Oklahoma	76		23	12	111	1	73	2	20	4	99	1
South Carolina	55		14	30	99	1	54		14	14	82	2
South Dakota	30		14	5	49	3	42		14	1	57	1
Tennessee	80		22	16	118	5	74	1	18	22	115	6
Texas	147		41	14	202	2	136	6	44	15	201	1
Utah	9				9	2	12	2			14	4
Virginia	96		22	28	146	3	98		18	33	149	6
West Virginia	37		10	4	51	3	31		9	1	41	1
Wisconsin	160		30	10	200	6	138	29	36	6	209	8
Wyoming	11	1	2		14		11	1	2		14	
Ontario	55		10		65	5	54		12		66	5
Foreign			30		30	1			35		35	
Out of Territory	37				37	10	58				58	6
	3379	19	676	433	4507	168	3315	73	686	405	4479	180

TABLE II. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND

	March 15, 1929			March 31, 1928		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Connecticut	91	10	101	80	10	90
Maine	28	11	39	25	9	34
Massachusetts	275	30	305	241	34	275
New Hampshire	23	8	31	18	12	30
Rhode Island	23	6	29	18	4	22
Vermont	13	7	20	11	4	15
Out of Territory	16		16	16		16
	<hr/> 469	<hr/> 72	<hr/> 541	<hr/> 409	<hr/> 73	<hr/> 482

TABLE III. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

	March 15, 1929			March 31, 1928		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Arizona		9	9	2	7	9
California	83	43	126	95	42	137
Idaho	2	7	9	2	5	7
Montana	5	8	13	7	8	15
Nevada		1	1			
Oregon	17	11	28	16	8	24
Washington	19	14	33	22	11	33
Out of Territory	1		1	1		1
	<hr/> 127	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 220	<hr/> 145	<hr/> 81	<hr/> 226

TABLE IV. THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE ATLANTIC STATES

	March 15, 1929			March 31, 1928		
	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.	Membs. Subs.	Ann'l Subs.	Total Subs.
Delaware	7	2	9	4	2	6
District of Col.	19	10	29	24	7	31
Maryland	35	19	54	29	18	47
New Jersey	62	21	83	52	24	76
New York	206	76	282	190	67	257
Pennsylvania	190	98	288	186	78	264
Out of Territory	3		3	2		2
	<hr/> 522	<hr/> 226	<hr/> 748	<hr/> 487	<hr/> 196	<hr/> 683

TABLE V. SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIBERS TO CLASSICAL JOURNAL

	March 15, 1929	March 31, 1928
Members of the Middle West and South	3379	3315
Members of Other Associations	1118	1041
Annual Subscribers	1067	1036
Paid Student Subscriptions	19	73
Gifts To Seniors (April, May, June)	433	405
Exchange Copies	11	
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total Circulation of JOURNAL March 15, 1929	6027	5870

ANCIENT READING ¹

By G. L. HENDRICKSON
Yale University

The miracle of books has been the theme of many a panegyric: Carlyle, in words which seem peculiarly pertinent to our theme, declaims eloquently of their preservation of "the articulate and audible voice of the Past, when the body and material substance of that Past has altogether vanished like a dream." But we accustom ourselves quickly to the most astounding inventions. The amazement of Dom Pedro and other listeners to the telephone at Philadelphia in 1876 gave place to matter-of-fact acceptance in a few years, and the recent wonder of wireless has descended swiftly to the present nuisance of radio. Once it must have seemed a thing to marvel at that the word symbolized by conventional characters should come to have something like the power and significance of the spoken word. But that in fact it has we are witnesses in increasing degree daily. How many millennia of slow development from the first speaking man lie behind the language of a Homer it would be rash to conjecture, but from

¹ The paper here presented at the request of the editors represents observations which were begun many years ago, not long in fact after the appearance of Norden's *Kunstprosa*: Leipzig, Teubner (2 vols., 1898), which kindled my curiosity about the subject. Somewhat in its present form it was read before the New York Latin Club in 1921, and again before the New Jersey section of the Classical Association of the Middle States, at Atlantic City in November last. Most of the illustrative material cited was gathered before the recent publication of Josef Balogh, "Voces Paginarum," *Philologus* LXXXII (1927), 84-109 and 202-40, which is the most complete account of the subject that has appeared. A related aspect of it was discussed by Sudhaus in "Leises und Lautes Beten," *Arch. f. Relig. Wissenschaft* IX (1906), 190. Some additional material has been presented by Norden in the later reprints of his *Kunstprosa* (Nachträge). On the general subject of the psychology and pedagogy of reading, and of the tendency in school practice to replace vocal with silent reading, see J. A. O'Brien *Silent Reading*: New York, Macmillan (1921).

Homer — a world without books and written records — down to Plato, where books are still new, though plentiful, is but a step, and so to our own day which groans beneath their burden. Almost within the memory of men now living the printed page has brought about the decline, if not the death, of oratory, whether of the parliament, the bar, or the pulpit; the newspaper and the review, anticipating every subject of comment, have killed conversation and debate; the learned archive or scientific journal renders the gatherings of scholars insignificant for purposes other than convivial; and books have in large degree displaced the living voice of the teacher. Books have created, as Plato prophesied, an art of forgetfulness, in that no one longer gives his mind to remembrance of that which can be consulted at leisure. The art of writing was to be sure in Plato's time nothing new; but the Greek book, the accessible and convenient repository of other men's thought, was scarcely yet a century old. Something of its newness is reflected in the delightful version of the story of the invention of books and letters, attributed to Theuth (Thoth) of the Egyptians: "This," said Theuth, "will make the Egyptians wiser and give them better memories; for this is the cure of forgetfulness and folly." To him replied Thamus, King of the Egyptians: "O most ingenious Theuth, he who has the gift of invention is not always the best judge of the utility of his own inventions to the users of them. This invention of yours will create forgetfulness in the learners' souls, because they will not use their memories; they will be hearers of many things and will have learned nothing; they will be tiresome company, having the show of wisdom without the reality." The story is told by Plato in the *Phaedrus*, to mark the contrast between the set speeches of the sophists and the conversation, or dialectic, of Socrates, who wrote nothing, who had learned that in face-to-face and word-to-word converse with men was the avenue to truth. That written words in contrast are poor things, he continues; "like the creations of the painter they have the attitude of life; and yet if you ask them a question, they preserve a solemn silence." One may feel in this narrative, as in other

passages of Plato, in Aristophanes, and elsewhere, the atmosphere of a time still near the beginnings of books.

It is doubtless superfluous to say that in the beginning the written word or book merely preserved a record of that which had once been spoken. For the words and sentences of this record to recover life and meaning, it was necessary that they be re-animated by the voice of someone who understood the significance of the written characters. Thus through the ear, whether to the one who pronounced them or to another listener, they conveyed again the thought or intention of the original speaker. The earliest readers stood toward the written surface (whether of stone or of paper) as most of us stand toward a page of music. We recognize the notes as conveying indications of time and pitch, we may even be familiar with the whole scheme of musical notation and perhaps have some ability to execute with voice or instrument; but for all that the mere sight of a page of music will convey nothing to most of us. Not until we ourselves, or some person more skilled, translates the characters into sound do they convey to us the composer's intention. And yet we know of many who with varying degrees of skill — from a simple melody to an orchestral score — can with the eye, and without reproducing audible sound, take in the significance of a musical composition. To most of us, even to many who account themselves musical, such skill is a thing to marvel at or to accept with incredulity. What the vast majority of us are today toward the musical score, that were the readers of an earlier time toward the written word: it conveyed meaning only as it was sounded and heard.

It would take us far from our immediate inquiry to debate whether the written characters of language are a signal of meaning directly from the eye to the mind, or whether they pass through the stages of articulation and hearing. We know, of course, that for children pronunciation of words seems necessary in learning to read; but the majority of educated adults, I fancy, are persuaded that they read without vocal or auditory medium. Whether in fact they do is quite another question. To the theorists

of antiquity, however, there was no doubt that a word was a sound, and that sound was necessary to convey sense. This doctrine is enunciated in two places by Augustine, who follows apparently a Stoic source of good antiquity. In his treatise *De Magistro* (*in quo de verborum vi atque officio disputatur*) Augustine discusses in dialogue with his son the nature of written words (iv, 8): *Dic ergo signa quae verba sunt, ad quem sensum pertineant. Ad auditum . . . Verba scripta — num verba sunt an signa verborum? . . . ita fit, ut cum scribitur verbum signum fiat oculis, quo illud quod ad aures pertinet veniat in mentem.* While it might be possible from the point of view of modern psychology to interpret these words in a quasi-figurative sense of so-called inner speech and inner audition, yet for antiquity and for Augustine it may be affirmed with confidence that the word was articulated sound (*omne verbum sonat*, as he says in another place) and that therefore to read was to read aloud.

It is a curious and convenient circumstance that Augustine himself furnishes the most complete and convincing illustration of his own doctrine, and by good fortune he does it in a wholly different context and with no thought of illustrating that doctrine. This passage must have been noted as significant by earlier readers, and was alluded to without specific reference by Nietzsche in one of his *Aphorisms*; but to the world of scholars at large it was brought to bear on the subject of reading by Norden in his *Antike Kunstprosa* in 1898. It is found in the sixth book of the *Confessions*, Chapter 3. Augustine expresses regret that while at Milan he could not have conferred more often with Ambrosius, for the time of Ambrose was taken up with throngs of busy people whose infirmities he served:

The little time which he did not give to them was devoted to refreshment of his body with necessary sustenance or of his spirit with reading. But when he read his eyes ran over the page and his heart searched out the meaning, but his voice and his tongue were at rest. Often when I was present — for no one was forbidden to enter, nor was it customary for one to be announced — I have seen him reading thus silently, never in fact otherwise. We would sit there in long silence (for who would venture to intrude upon him so intent upon his study?) and go our way.

We hazarded conjectures as to his reasons for reading thus; and some thought that he wished to avoid the necessity of explaining obscurities of his text to a chance listener, or that he avoided thus the discussion of the difficult problems that would arise and prevent him from doing the amount of reading that he had planned in a given time. But the preservation of his voice, which easily became hoarse, may well have been the true reason of his silent reading.

A description of singular interest and significance. By inference from many passages elsewhere we may conclude, as will appear, that ancient reading was habitually aloud; but no one else, it would seem, has had occasion to comment on the strangeness of silent reading. It is to be noted that for Augustine the manner of reading was only strange, not necessarily difficult or incredible. He has some notion of the sense of privacy which such a habit would afford in the common room where people came and went at will (*feriatum ab strepitu causarum alienarum*), but he does not include this motive among the reasons which they conjectured for Ambrose's custom. Apart from the positive statement that "his voice and tongue were at rest" the passage yields the implication that ordinary reading, such as might have been expected, would have been audible to any others present and might therefore have become a source of interruption from the demands of casual listeners seeking interpretation or discussion.

Such a situation suggests a familiar passage of *Acts* (VIII, 30), where Philip on his way from Jerusalem to Gaza meets the Eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, who was sitting in his chariot and read *Esaïas* the prophet: "And Philip ran thither to him and heard him reading the prophet *Esaïas* and said, 'Understandest thou what thou readest?'" The passage was first brought to my attention by the very natural inquiry of a student; "How did Philip know that he was reading the prophet *Esaïas*?" So little impression did the use of the word "heard" make upon our modern presumption of silent reading that both the student and myself had overlooked its implication.²

² With Philip and the Eunuch of Queen Candace we are in oriental atmosphere, where to this day the habit of reading aloud may still be considered the rule. I have been told by a friend and colleague, whose father was deeply versed

As in this passage from the *Acts*, so elsewhere one is often surprised into a realization that a familiar text contains implications of usage which have commonly escaped observation. It is a good while ago now that there came into our library a volume of criticism by a German scholar (F. Teichmüller), which dealt magisterially with the text of Horace in the antiquated manner of Peerlkamp *et al.* and undertook to eliminate from the text un-Horatian accretions.³ After reading the Preface and getting the author's point of view I opened the volume casually at a treatment of the third *Satire* of Book I, where Horace deprecates the unseemly temper with which one who has sought solitude greets the trusting and naive interruption of a friend:

*Ut forte legentem
aut tacitum impellat quovis sermone.*

This has usually been interpreted as meaning "reading or thinking" (so Fairclough, the latest translator, renders it), i.e. in silent meditation. From this natural point of view our Horatian critic said, "The juxtaposition *legentem aut tacitum* rests upon the absurd assumption that 'reading' and 'silence' are terms exclusive of each other." But here again, with eyes opened by the description of Augustine, I saw suddenly that the words do in fact contrast — sound (*legentem*) with silence (*tacitum*).

The number of passages like this, where the words contain a similar implication of oral and audible reading, is doubtless very large; and I imagine that a close scrutiny of almost any author whose subject matter is varied would yield examples. Thus, for in Hebrew lore, that as a boy he was instructed "that one must never read any of the sacred literature with the eye alone, but must always, even if only soundless, form the words with the lips." He gave as the reason for this rule that "only thus the command could be observed, that not one tittle of the holy words should ever be lost." That is, I should guess, a primitive custom which had stereotyped into a matter of ritualistic observance. (On this subject see the interesting references of Kraus, *Talmudische Archäologie* III, 181, cited by Balogh p. 104). A similar rule, I believe, or tradition holds in the Roman Church concerning the reading of the Breviary, which is, however, in practice reduced to lip articulation; cf. also the valuable note of Balogh p. 105, n. 28.

³ *Das Niththorazische in der Horazüberlieferung*: Berlin, E. Hofmann (1911).

instance, Martial (v, 2) claims that his present book is purer than the preceding one and is suitable for the society of ladies, of girls and boys (*matronae puerique virginesque*). It is one

*Quem Germanicus ore non rubente
coram Cecropia leget puella.*

On the contrary, at xi, 16, 9 f the chaste reader is bidden to read in secret:

*Erubuit posuitque meum Lucretia librum,
sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede: leget.*

She will go on reading, when the ear of Brutus is withdrawn.

I have said above that ancient theory, such as we found set forth by Augustine, held that written characters became significant only as they were reanimated by the voice and reached the mind through the medium of sound. A corollary of this theory is the apparent use of the word "to hear" (*ἀκούειν*, *audire*) in the sense of "to read." I say cautiously "apparent" because in some of the examples it may be impossible to demonstrate that the reading was not done by another. One of the earliest and most interesting of these instances is found in the famous story of Croesus' testing of the oracles of Greece by sending forth messengers, who at the same time on a given day should ask the oracle what he at that moment was doing. When the messengers returned with the written records of the responses, "Croesus unrolled each one and looked at the writing. None of the rest seemed to him significant; but as soon as he 'read' the one from Delphi, at once he worshiped and recognized it as the only true oracle" — ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσεν, for which I can see no other idiomatic rendering than "read."

If this were an isolated example, it would be hazardous to draw conclusions from it, but it is only one — the earliest that I have noted — of a multitude of similar examples in both Greek and Latin. In the passage of the *Phaedrus*, cited above, King Thamius says (in Jowett's translation) of users of books "they will be *hearers* of many things and will have learned nothing" — πολυήκοοι γὰρ σοι γενόμενοι ἄνευ διδασχῆς, where the more idiomatic

rendering would seem to be “*readers* of many things,” or in the Latin version of the Didot edition, *cum multa perlegerint*. This usage of ἀκούειν is noted by the Stephanus *Thesaurus* and yet it has proven a block of stumbling to commentators and translators. Thus, e.g., in *Phaedrus* 268C Plato speaks of one who fancies that he is a physician because he has *read* something in a book, as Jowett correctly translates ἐκ βιβλίου ποθὲν ἀκούσας. But the same translator renders 112A of the *First Alcibiades*: “Of quarrels about justice and injustice you have certainly heard from many people, including Homer, for you have *heard of* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*?” — καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐας γὰρ καὶ Ἰλιάδος ἀκήκοας; But obviously the words should be rendered “for you certainly have *read* the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.” In the shrewd but rather tediously prolix criticism which Polybius bestows upon Timaeus in Book XII, 27, he remarks that nature has given us two instruments of inquiry or investigation, hearing and sight, of which the latter is much more truthful. But Timaeus entirely avoids employing his eyes and prefers the channel of hearing (τῆς ἀκοῆς). Hearing again being twofold in character, Timaeus diligently pursued the one part, viz. the reading of books, but was very remiss in his use of the other, interrogation of living witnesses. That is, the “reading” of books and knowledge derived from books are to Polybius ἀκοή, and his “readers” are οἱ ἀκούοντες. Similar to this passage of Polybius is an interesting one in the treatise *On the Sublime*, where, after citing a description from Herodotus, the author comments: “Observe how he leads you in imagination through the region and makes you see what you hear” (τὴν ἀκοὴν ὅψιν ποιῶν), i.e. he makes *reading* as vivid as *seeing*. A typical and familiar example of this usage is the title of Plutarch’s well known essay “On Reading the Poets”— Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν. That ἀκούειν is here used almost or quite synonymously with ἀναγιγνώσκειν appears from such combinations as ἀκροάσεις καὶ ἀναγνώσεις (Ch. 1), and the consistent use of ἀκοή (ὄτα) for all that refers to perception through reading. It may be that Plato, Polybius, Plutarch, and others always conceive of reading as the work of a teacher, a slave, or a

companion; but it seems incredible that they can never have thought of a person reading to himself. I say this because the commentators,⁴ so far as their meager treatment of the usage goes, seem to assume that in all these instances ἀκούειν is the hearing of another. But humanly speaking that is incredible, and we must assume either that from the usage of an early time when books were scarce the "hearing" of another came to be the equivalent of "reading," or else, as in the example of Croesus above, that ἀκούειν is the hearing of one's own voice and so "reading." It is rash to make statements about Greek usage, since our means of control are so deficient; but I venture to raise the question whether any word for "readers" in the large sense is so common and idiomatic as οἱ ἀκούοντες. Ἀναγνώστης is the professional reader and does not enter into consideration. Οἱ ἀναγιγνώσκοντες does occur, but is apparently much less frequent.

In Latin *auditor* is often "the reader," with the same possibility of ambiguity that we have seen in ὁ ἀκούων, as to whether the reader hears his own voice or the voice of another. But in Latin a differentiation has begun, and *lector* is not merely one whose business or occupation it is to read, but the abstract audience of the author, the "reader" in general. In Horace *lector* is the usual word; but in the tritest quotation from the *Art of Poetry*, Homer *in medias res non secus ac notas AUDITOREM rapit*, i.e. τὸν ἀκούοντα, "the reader." So also in Varro, *De Lingua Latina* vi, 1, *Potius cognationi verborum quam AUDITORI calumnianti geremus morem*, "I shall heed the relationship of words rather than the censure of my reader." In Persius (I, 126) the reader is to consign to his own intelligent ear the poet's lessons: *inde vaporata lector mihi ferveat AURE*. Quintilian, insisting on comprehensive reading for the attainment of a rich vocabulary, says (x, 1, 10): *Haec nisi multa lectione atque auditione adsequi nullo modo possumus, cum omnem sermonem AURIBUS primum accipiamus*. Passages of this kind could be multiplied almost indefinitely, and

⁴ So Weiske ad *De Sublim.* xxvi (p. 361): AUDITIONEM vocat Longinus, quam nos hodie lectionem dicamus. Nam plerique omnes olim anagnostas habebant . . . non ipsi legebant veterum scripta.

the citations under *audire* and its cognate words in the *Thesaurus* furnish abundant material for such study. But in using it a caution should be entered against pressing examples where metaphor or figurative vividness of speech may rather explain the usage. Thus when Juvenal (I, 156) writes: *Quotiens Lucilius ardens infremuit, rubet AUDITOR*, he means to make the reader of Lucilius a true listener to the rage and violence of the present satirist. Or again when Tacitus at the beginning of the *Agricola* announces his intention to write the history of his own day *vel incondita ac rudi VOCE*, he is doubtless using conscious metaphor. In like manner I doubt whether we can press the example of Augustine which gives picturesque title to Balogh's study, referred to above. Tychonius, hitherto an heretical Donatist, is converted to the authority of the church: *omnibus sanctorum PAGINARUM VOCIBUS circumtunsus, evigilavit et vidit ecclesiam Dei toto terrarum orbe diffusam* (Migne 43, 33). But such a passage of warmth and color is no more certain evidence for the habit of reading than is the line of Keats, who never breathed the pure serene of Homeric song till he "*heard* Chapman speak out loud and bold." We give a question a *hearing* in the public press; our writers address an *audience*; we ask if you have *heard* from John, who lives perhaps beyond the sea; etc.

These usages of ἀκούειν and *audire*, which I have reviewed briefly, are not perhaps convincing evidence of a universal habit of reading aloud on the part of individuals reading to themselves; but they are noteworthy as a manifestation of the general "ear-mindedness" of antiquity — to use a word from the jargon of psychology — as opposed to the "eye-mindedness" of modern times.

But if, as seems certain, reading aloud even to one's self was the usual custom of antiquity, the question may be raised whether the ability to read silently was an accomplishment possessed even by the educated. The example of St. Ambrose's silent reading was our starting point; but just as the surprise and wonder of Augustine at beholding it is the clearest indication of habitual audible reading, so some other examples of silent reading afford

the same implication. Thus in the *Heroides* of Ovid Cydippe replies to Acontius:

*Pertimui, scriptumque tuum sine murmure legi,
iuraret ne quos inscia lingua deos* (XXI, 1 f),

"I read what you had written without a sound, lest my tongue unawares might swear by some god." Had it not been for her fear, she would have read naturally, i.e. aloud. There are several other passages of analogous character in which, as here by *sine murmure*, so by the use of *tacitus* the fact of silent reading for a special purpose or situation is emphasized. Note the legacy hunter Nasica in Horace's familiar *Satire* who finally gets the will in his hand *et TACITUS leget* — to his own discomfiture; and the mild admonition devised by Augustus to rebuke the vices of certain *equites*, to receive a list of their wrongdoings, in the presence of a committee of Senators, which *TACITI et ibidem statim legerent* (Suetonius, *Aug.* xxxix).

Reading silently was not, therefore, impossible (though the degree of silence is still open to debate); but it not only was unusual, it was accounted an imperfect and defective method of reading. This may be seen very nicely from a passage of Lucian (which was first brought to my attention by my friend Professor W. A. Heidel) in his satire upon a rich and ignorant collector of books (*Adversus Indoctum* 2): "What do all your books profit you, who are too ignorant to appreciate their value and beauty? To be sure you look upon them with open eyes and even greedily, and some of them you read at a great pace, *your eye outstripping your voice*; but I do not consider that sufficient, unless you know the merits and defects of all that is written there, and understand what every sentence means," etc. This passage is the more interesting because it gave occasion for Wieland, the German translator, to formulate quite definitely the point of view which is set forth in this paper: "This passage proves, I think, plainly enough," he says, "that the ancients, at least the Greeks, were in the habit of reading aloud all books of value, and that it was with them a rule that a good book must be read aloud." The comment is interesting in that it contends, quite correctly I think, that

reading aloud was intrenched in ancient education and usage as the only recognized means of gaining the full meaning of the written page. The volume of Wieland which contains the note just cited bears the date 1789. It must seem remarkable that an opinion so clearly enunciated should not earlier have passed over into the general body of accepted truth concerning ancient usage, or at least have furnished a thesis for discussion. Silent reading, as we have seen, was not apparently unknown; but where it is alluded to, a special motivation or comment seems to be present to explain it as something anomalous.

But when we speak of silent reading, it will be recognized that there are many gradations between vocal and silent reading, descending from distinct oral utterance to indistinct murmurs, to whispers, to mere lip motions, and so on through unconscious muscular movements of the tongue, throat, or larynx, to pure eye-reading unattended by any enunciatory effort. Whispered syllabification, or lip movements, we are probably all familiar with, though I observe them now far less frequently than in my boyhood, when it was a familiar sight to see a farmer or a laboring man read his newspaper with much mouthing and sibilation. That difference may, however, be merely a matter of environment, though I suspect that the enormous increase in newspapers and periodicals has made reading a much more expert accomplishment in all strata of society within a generation.

Surveying the whole question I venture a tentative conclusion somewhat as follows: Throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages reading aloud was the general habit of the learned as well as of the unlearned. Silent reading was unusual, but in what degree exceptional or possible the evidence as yet collected does not permit us to say. With the renewed literary activity of the Renaissance⁵ and the invention of printing the educated world

⁵ In the early Renaissance the indications of vocabulary would point to a continuation of the habit of antiquity, but little material has been gathered. Balogh generalizes somewhat rashly: "We have every reason to assume that the humanists from Petrarch to Erasmus read the periods of Cicero aloud" (p. 234). In contrast, however, note Chaucer, *House of Fame* II, 148:

For whan thy labour doon al is,

went over by degrees to the now universal habit of silent reading. Reading aloud is still the habit of beginners, though our advanced pedagogists have begun the task of introducing silent reading into elementary instruction. In the Orient, I am told, where the conditions of life in respect to books and letters have remained in a stage more analogous to classical antiquity, reading aloud is still the general practice.

But to many who have attained to perfect facility in silent reading and are entirely free from lip movements or conscious articulation there are present in reading faint and unconscious muscular movements of the various organs which condition speech. Sometimes they are betrayed by fatigue of the throat and larynx, and the ingenious psychologist of the laboratory has devised methods to detect muscular responses of which the subject is quite unconscious. But with or without muscular reaction there is present in most readers an inner or mental enunciation of the words read, with its corollary, an inner or mental audition of them. This is the so-called *parole interieure*, which the French scholar V. Egger was the first to define,⁶ though it occurs to me to speculate whether the ancient λόγος ἐνδιάθετος (as contrasted with the λόγος προφορικὸς) be not the same thing.

We are for the most part, it would appear, now at the stage of the *parole interieure*. We read without the audible enunciation to which antiquity was accustomed, and even in large measure without any of those unconscious muscular movements through which as learners we passed and at which many remain. There remains, however, another degree of virtuosity to which we may attain, as indeed most of us are acquainted with some persons who have already attained to it: I mean those phenomenal devourers of books who seem to transfer the page directly from

And hast y-maad thy rekeninges,
In stede of reste and newe thinges,
Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
And, also domb as any stoon,
Thou sittest at another boke,
Til fully daswed is thy loke.

⁶ *La Parole Interieure*: Paris, Germer Bailliere et Cie. (1881).

the eye to the mind as if by a process of instantaneous photography. One such I recall who read Sienkiewicz' *Quo Vadis* (550 pages of fine type) in a little more than two hours and, when challenged, passed a perfect examination upon its contents. To readers of this type the printed character must be immediately significant without passing through the stage of inner articulation and audition. It is toward this goal that the general speeding up of modern life even in things intellectual is leading us, while the scientific pedagogues are already at work on the younger generation. We shall doubtless learn to read more pages per hour, and more books per day or week; but let us not forget the prophecy of the wise Thamus to Theuth the inventor: "Your disciples will be readers of many things and will have learned nothing; they will appear to be omniscient" [like our literary reviews and reviewers!] "and will generally know nothing." Over against the vision of a generation which in swiftness of reading technique shall succeed in coping with the outpour of the presses, let me set down in conclusion a definition which savors of leisure,⁷ which contemplates, we may fancy, the affectionate perusal of the *Aeneid* (let us say) at the rate of a single book each day, which took pains with shading of voice and intonation to catch the spirit of the poet and of his creations; which strove in short to hear his voice: *Lectio est varia cuiusque scripti pronuntiatio, serviens dignitati personarum exprimensque animi habitum cuiusque*.⁸ But such reading as this definition contemplates is now, I suspect, thought of as a declamatory performance, looking rather to the glory of the reader than to the interpretation of the author. Reading aloud, whether among groups of students or in the family circle, is becoming or has become one of those many arts and graces which modern life has robbed us of so relentlessly. It is almost impossible, as college teachers know, to find

⁷ The French critic Émile Faguet in his entertaining little book *L'Art de Lire* (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1912) entitles his first chapter "*Lire Lentement*," and cites Flaubert concerning the scholars of the seventeenth century: "*Ah! ces hommes du xviii^e siècle! Comme ils savaient le latin! Comme ils lisaient lentement!*"

⁸ Cf. Diomedes apud Gram. *Latin*. I, 426, 22.

interest or to obtain cooperation among students of today in the oral interpretation of any poetry — English, Latin, or Greek. The teacher of voice culture is relegated to the schools of drama and theology, and perhaps he has earned his own banishment. People of my generation may look upon this as a loss, as indeed I do. However, I am ready to recognize, not as a substitute but as a parallel point of view, the sincere feeling of those who contend that there is more intimacy and depth of appreciation in silent reading, in the unheard melodies of poetry and artistic prose, than can be felt in any vocal rendering.

MATERIALS FOR READING IN SECOND-YEAR LATIN ¹

By MARGARET E. PHELAN
Proviso Township High School
Maywood, Illinois

When the *Report of the Classical Investigation* in its chapter on "Content" (p. 124) recommended "that there be enough freedom of choice in the Latin authors to be read to make it easily practicable for teachers to select the reading material which in their judgment would provide the best medium for attaining during the secondary course the historical-cultural objectives which they regard as valid for their pupils," teachers of Latin found themselves almost overwhelmed by the flood of textbooks which appeared, each of which was of course attempting to present material which would conform to the recommendations of the *Report*. In this paper I am attempting to give a survey of the reading material available in second-year textbooks at the present time.

I do not deem myself capable of telling any one of you which book you ought to be using in your classes, nor can I in the time allotted to me exhaust the list of books available; but I shall simply spread before you, cafeteria-fashion, the contents of several books, feeling that you know the needs of your pupils well enough so that you may select a balanced ration for them.

The reading material available may be divided into two classes: that found in what are known as regular textbooks, and that found in supplementary readers. I shall consider first the contents of a few of the readers.

As long ago as 1891, Ginn and Company published a little volume by William C. Collar called *A Gate to Caesar*. In the In-

¹ Read before the annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at the University of Chicago, March 28, 1929.

roduction to this book Mr. Collar says: "Caesar is a difficult author. Some parts of his *Gallic War* are as hard, or nearly as hard, as any prose Latin that has come down to us. My conviction is that for young learners a year's reading in easier Latin is not too much before taking up even the less difficult books of the *Gallic War*. Even then the transition to Caesar comes with something of a shock. Why not remove provisionally from the text those more intricate parts that discourage the learner and bar the way of progress?" Accordingly, Mr. Collar has omitted almost exactly one-fifth of Caesar's text.

In the Introduction to his *Selected Works from Ovid*, published by the American Book Company in 1900, Dr. F. J. Miller says: "Recently traditional books and methods have been challenged. More reading which shall be at the same time more interesting and less difficult is demanded. As a consequence, the Latin program is providing more and more suitable reading supplementary to Caesar." Dr. Miller has included in his *Selected Works* passages from Ovid's *Amores*, *Fasti*, and *Metamorphoses*.

In 1926 there came to us from the Macmillan Company a group of three readers of a very convenient pocket-size. The first of these, *Legends of Gods and Heroes*, by T. S. Morton, is, according to the Introduction, "An attempt to retell in very simple Latin some selected stories from Greek mythology"; and in its one hundred and seven pages it contains the stories of Perseus, Hercules, Jason, and the Trojan War. The second, *Legends of Ancient Rome*, adapted from Livy by Herbert Wilkinson, of Oxford, contains in its fifty-seven pages "The Founding of Rome," "The Horatii and Curiatii," "Horatius at the Bridge," "Cincinnatus," "The Siege of the Citadel," and "Camillus." This little reader has a most enthusiastic Introduction by Miss Mary Breene, of Pittsburgh, from which I quote the following: "The brothers and sisters of the boys and girls who began Caesar immediately after one year of Latin will be fortunate indeed in reading the *Legends of Ancient Rome* before the Gallic campaigns. These sixteen narratives of Livy have been simplified to suit the ability of pupils

and graduated until they finally approximate the difficulty of Caesar. The fact that Livy's vocabulary is quite similar to Caesar's makes the whole an excellent and direct approach. It may safely be concluded that when this little book is completed, its readers will have made relatively greater progress in Latin and have acquired not a little Roman history at its source along with an abiding respect for the virtue and loyalty of the early Romans." Finally, G. H. Nall, of Westminster, has given us fifty-nine pages of reading concerning the Seven Kings of Rome in a book by that title which completes this group of three readers, all three of which contain vocabularies, notes, and some sentences for lessons in prose composition.

Next let us consider Scudder's *Easy Latin*, published by Allyn and Bacon in 1925. The Introduction says that this book has been prepared to meet the Committee's specific recommendations for "easy reading" during the first three semesters of the Latin course and has been especially prepared for sight reading in class. It contains, first, stories drawn from Roman mythology and tradition, interspersed with an occasional passage on the life of the Romans; second, stories of Roman history adapted from Livy and Eutropius, covering the period from the founding of Rome to the Civil War between Marius and Sulla. These two sections contain such titles as "Perseus and Andromeda," "Jason," "Daedalus," "Ancient Troy," "Aeneas in Latium," "Romulus and Remus," and "The Sibylline Books." A third section, devoted to the life of Caesar, taken from *Viri Romae*, serves as an appropriate introduction to the reading of Caesar in the fourth semester.

Time does not permit my mentioning even the names of a long list of readers available at the present time, but I refer those of you who are especially interested in this matter to the *Report* of the Classical Investigation (pp. 144-51) and also to a bulletin issued by the Service Bureau,² called "Easy Latin Reading for First, Second, and Third Semesters," compiled by Professor W. L. Carr, and to a bulletin which may be obtained from Miss Guyles, at the Latin Laboratory, University of Wisconsin, Madi-

² Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City.

son, Wisconsin. This bulletin was prepared in 1927 by Miss Mildred Goudy and Miss Mabelle Sprague and is entitled, "A List of Supplementary Reading Material Graded by Semesters."

In discussing the books commonly thought of as regular textbooks I shall consider the reading material found in seven books, arranging them in alphabetical order.

Ford's *Second Latin Book*, published by Henry Holt and Company (1926), gives about one hundred pages of reading matter to the following: "The Argonauts"; an account of ancient geography and the story of Rome based on Livy, Caesar, Tacitus, and Eutropius; the lives of Miltiades and Hannibal, adapted from Nepos; and three stories from Ovid, viz. "Narcissus and Echo," "Philemon and Baucis," and "Phaethon." In another hundred pages, the complete story of Caesar's Gallic wars has been presented by connecting the unmodified selections by summaries, some in English and others in Latin.

Gray and Jenkins, *Latin for Today—Second Year Course*, published by Ginn and Co. (1928), has its reading material divided into five parts. In Part I the mythological lore of the Greeks and Romans, as adapted from Ovid, furnishes the material, and we have such stories as "Philemon and Baucis," "Tantalus," "Ceres," "Orpheus and Eurydice," "Ulysses and Circe," "Niobe," and "Midas." In Part II we find material adapted for the most part from Pliny, in which the Roman citizen's ideals of his family life and his loyalty to them provide the dominant theme. Part III, adapted from Livy, Nepos, Cicero, and Aulus Gellius, describes the most important events in the development of Rome's internal history, and in this part the ideals of Roman citizenship have been stressed through such stories as those of Paulus, Fabricius, Tiberius Gracchus, and others. Part IV contains "The Argonauts," and Part V consists of something more than two hundred pages of selections from Caesar, from the campaign against the Helvetians to the surrender of Vercingetorix, many of the selections having been simplified.

According to the Introduction, Little and Parsons, *Second*

Latin Lessons, published by D. C. Heath and Co. (1927), provides an abundance of continuous easy Latin reading which deals with classical mythology and with various phases of Roman life, literature, and history. This reading material has been adapted from classical authors and is so organized as to furnish a gradual approach to the reading of the unmodified text of Caesar in the latter half of the year's work. Parts I, II, and III consist of reading lessons adapted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Pliny's *Letters*, and the comedies of Plautus and Terence. I shall mention here just a few of the titles taken from these three parts of the book: "The Flood," "Jupiter Determines to Destroy Mankind," "Deucalion and Pyrrha Alone are Left Alive," "Perseus and Andromeda," and "The Sons and Daughters of Niobe"; from Pliny, accounts of the eruption of Vesuvius, and ghost stories of the haunted house at Athens; from the plays, "Hunting a Dinner" (from the *Captivi*) and "Two Braggart Captains" (from the *Miles Gloriosus*). Part IV consists of selections from Books I-VII of Caesar's *Gallie War*, with summaries in English of omitted portions of the text.

Penick and Proctor, *Second Year Latin*, published by Scribner's (1927), divides its reading material into four parts. The first part consists of Hebrew stories taken from the Vulgate, and here we find such stories as that of "Noah," "Lot's Wife," "Isaac," "Moses at the Red Sea," "David and Goliath," and others. Greek stories connected with the expedition of the Argonauts, taken largely from Ritchie's *Fabulae Faciles*, make up the second part of this book. Part III is given to Roman stories based on familiar characters and incidents in Roman life and history, simplified from Livy. "Romulus and Remus," "Tarpeia," "Horatius," "Cincinnatus," "Regulus," and "Caesar" are some of the titles. There is a logical progression in the difficulty of these stories so that there is no perceptible gap between them and Caesar, especially as his first two books are simplified. Books III and IV and selections from Book VI are also given.

Second Year Latin by Place, published by the American Book

Company in 1923, devotes the greater part of its reading material to a complete survey of Caesar's *Gallic War*, giving the most significant portions for translation and uniting them by means of summaries and translations in English. A small part of the book is given to stories in Latin on these subjects: "The Death of Caesar," "Why Don't You Speak for Yourself, John?" "Verginius Rufus," "The Rival Centurions," and "Much Ado about Nothing."

In Sanford and Scott's *A Junior Latin Reader*, published by Scott, Foresman and Company (1922), we find three types of reading material. The stories of Perseus, Hercules, and the Argonauts, taken from Ritchie's *Fabulae Faciles*, furnish a background for much of the mythological lore of the Greeks and Romans. Stories from Roman history, adapted from Livy, carry out that recommendation of the *Classical Investigation Report* which suggests stressing characteristic Roman qualities by stories illustrative of them. The stories give a very real picture of the seven traditional kings; and from the reading of such chapters as the ones on "Horatius," "Camillus," "Cincinnatus," "Fabricius," "Regulus," and others, pupils are certain to feel an acquaintance with, and a respect for, the courage and loyalty of the early Romans. The third part of the *Junior Latin Reader* is devoted to Caesar, presenting the first book of the *Gallic War* in a somewhat simplified form, and Books II and III unmodified.

Ullman and Henry, *Second Latin Book*, published by the Macmillan Company (1926), is rich in material for reading. The authors say in the Introduction that the book has purposely been made sufficiently flexible to allow teachers much freedom. In connection with a review of the first year's work there are twenty lessons built around a continued story of Roman family life. There follows an abundance of simple graded reading taken from Livy, Eutropius, Aulus Gellius, and Pliny. There is a wide choice of material here, as will be seen from these titles: "The Early Kings"; "Secession of the Plebs"; "The Gauls Capture Rome"; "Pompey, Cicero, and Caesar"; "From Tiberius to Nero"; "The Eruption of Mt. Vesuvius." Selections from the seven books of

Caesar's *Gallic War* are given, with Books I and II simplified; and summaries are given in English of all omitted portions throughout the books.

A discussion of the differences and similarities in these books would provide material enough for another paper, but from this cursory glance at some of our present-day books it is apparent that the reading material resembles the famous Gaul "taken as a whole," for almost every book gives us (1) some stories from mythology, (2) some accounts of Roman history, usually adapted from Livy — and this is not surprising if we believe with Professor Showerman that "No race in the history of the world has had a nobler gallery of hero portraits than the Roman people" (and it is Livy who gives us this gallery) — and (3) some of Caesar's own story of his Gallic campaigns, the amount and selection varying rather widely in different books.

And now we have reached the end of the line in our cafeteria. Perhaps some of you feel that you have been shown only the same old foods that have been served week in and week out; but if only a few have found a salad containing a new combination of fruits or vegetables, this paper will have served its purpose.

THE USE OF MERCURY'S CADUCEUS AS A MEDICAL EMBLEM

By BERNICE S. ENGLE
Omaha, Nebraska

The use of the caduceus of Hermes, or Mercury, as an emblem of the medical profession has been a source of much perplexity both to scholars and to physicians interested in the history of medicine. In her book on *Classical Myths* Miss Sabin¹ notes: "Just why the wand of Mercury with its *two* serpents . . . was selected as a symbol of the medical staff of the army is hard to understand, and no one seems to be able to explain it to the entire satisfaction of scholars."

One of the strongest apologists for the use of the caduceus is Fielding H. Garrison, Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. Army. In a series of articles he summarizes the early history of the use of the caduceus as a medical emblem and argues for its retention, at least in the army.²

The first instance of the *kerykeion*, or caduceus, of Mercury in association with medicine is that of the great Swiss medical printer, Johann Froben (1460-1527), who used the caduceus with entwined serpents, not winged, but surmounted by doves and the inscription in Greek: "Be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves."

The first medical man to use the caduceus was Sir William Butts, physician to Henry VIII. In 1556, two years after the death of Butts, John Caius (1510-73), author of a famous tract

¹ Frances Sabin, *Classical Myths That Live Today*: New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1927), 112 f.

² F. H. Garrison, "The Use of the Caduceus in the Insignia of the Army Medical Officer," *Bull. Med. Lib. Assoc.* ix (1919-20), 13-16; "The Babylonian Caduceus," *Mil. Surg.* XLIV (1919), 633-36; and "A Letter to the Editor," *Am. Med. Assoc. Jour.* LXXII (1919), 1483.

on sweating sickness, presented upon a visit to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, a cushion, a silver caduceus, a book, and a seal, emblems which were carried before him in procession upon his next visit to the college in 1558. In his *Annals* Caius thus speaks of this silver caduceus: *Nam caduceus, sive virga argentina, regenda significat mitius et clementius, contra quam solebant olim, qui virga regebant ferrea. Prudenter autem regendum agendumque docent serpentes, prudentiae indices.* The silver caduceus is still in existence.

The next mention of the caduceus is in 1844, when it appears on the title pages of books of the medical publisher, J. S. M. Churchill, of London. In 1856 the caduceus was used on the chevrons of hospital stewards in the U. S. Army. Later it was used in the insignia of the U. S. Public Health Service, and in 1902 was first used on the uniforms of the U. S. Army medical officers. In 1901 the French periodical of military medicine was named *Le Caducée*.

For a time the caduceus was used as an emblem by the American Medical Association, but in 1912 after considerable discussion the official emblem embodying the Aesculapian rod was adopted and is still in use.

The chief defender of the caduceus is Colonel Garrison, in articles already mentioned. He bases much of his argument upon an article by A. L. Frothingham, "Babylonian Origin of Hermes the Snake-God, and of the Caduceus" and upon a publication of the Carnegie Institution.³ From these articles and other references Colonel Garrison accepts the Assyro-Babylonian origin of the caduceus, the first specimen of which Dr. Ward discovered on a libation vase of 3500 B.C. which was found at Lagash and is now in the Louvre. The emblem represents the god Ningishzida, messenger of the mother goddess Ishtar, and awakener of life and vegetation in the spring. From this proto-Hermes, invariably a snake-god, Colonel Garrison derives the general processes of healing, medicine, fertility, and potency.

³ Cf. *Am. Jour. Arch.* xx (1916), 175-211; and W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*: Washington, Carnegie Institution (1910).

Though referring to the medical aura surrounding the Babylonian origin of the caduceus, Colonel Garrison emphasizes much more another phase of the symbolism of the caduceus — its use as a sign of neutrality. He mentions references by Livy to the *caduceator*, or peace commissioner, and its use as a badge by secret societies in ancient Rome. The late Colonel John Van R. Hoff is given the main responsibility for introducing the caduceus as a badge for medical officers, and is said to have had the symbol of neutrality especially in mind. Colonel Garrison concludes that the caduceus, representing a god some of whose functions were medical, is a practical symbol for medical officers on active duty. He wishes to retain the Aesculapian staff on the Medical Corps coat of arms in order to symbolize the purely medical activities as distinguished from the administrative and military functions of the medical department of the army.

Another historian⁴ traces the wings of the caduceus ~~to the~~ hawk wings of the Egyptian sun god Horus, with whom the serpent was often united. He thinks that the story in which Hermes received from Apollo the caduceus in exchange for the lyre shows an old association with the sun-god, as does also the fact that the hawk was a sacred animal of Apollo.

Again, an effort⁵ is made to summarize any healing functions that Hermes may have had: he was deity of the gymnasium and guardian of health, aided Athena in curing the daughters of Proetus of madness, performed a Caesarian operation on Semele at the birth of Bacchus, averted a plague by carrying a ram on his shoulders about the city walls of Tanagra, and is sometimes associated with Hygeia as her husband.

By two historians⁶ Hermes is identified with the Egyptian Thoth, to whom were assigned the earliest Egyptian works on medicine, the so-called "Hermetic books."

⁴ R. Wilson, "The Caduceus and Its Symbolism," *Annals Med. Hist.* iv (1922), 301-03.

⁵ Cf. W. A. Jayne, *The Healing Gods of Ancient Civilization*: Yale University Press (1925), 331-34.

⁶ Cf. E. Berdoe, *Origin and Growth of the Healing Art*: London, Sonnenschein (1893), 150 f; and Wilson, *op. cit.* 302 f.

On the other hand, S. P. Gerhard⁷ objects to the use of the caduceus as a medical emblem, assigning its use to merchants and steamship or railway companies. He pleads for the use of the knotty rod and serpent of Aesculapius — the knots to indicate the many difficult problems of the physician, the serpent to symbolize power, wisdom, and health.

Again, Colonel McCulloch⁸ calls the whole significance of the caduceus uncomplimentary to the doctor; he traces its use to the Public Health Service and to Churchill. He alleges the adoption by army surgeons of ancient times of the caduceus as a badge of neutrality, but is unable to quote an authority.

The editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*⁹ agrees with objectors to the caduceus, the use of which he thinks a reflection upon the interest which our nation takes in things classical. He mentions the uncomplimentary phase of Mercury as conductor of souls of the dead. He sees confusion of the caduceus with medicine through the sleep-producing qualities of Hermes in the Greek poets and through the opiate rod mentioned by Erasmus Darwin.

In this connection two English physicians¹⁰ do not look kindly upon Mercury, conductor of the dead and holder of the full purse. They urge the universal adoption of the official emblem of the American Medical Association, the rod of Aesculapius, and the abandonment of the caduceus. But on the cover of the second publication cited appears the figure of the caduceus.

The majority of medical opinion now favors the use of the Aesculapian rod as a medical symbol. This is now the emblem of the American Medical Association, the Royal Army Medical Corps, and the French Medical Military Service; and it appears on the coat of arms of the U. S. Medical Corps, though the

⁷ Cf. *Am. Med. Jour.* LXXII (1919), 1243 f.

⁸ Cf. "The Coat of Arms of the Medical Corps," *Mil. Surg.* XLI (1917), 137-48.

⁹ Cf. "Comment," LXXII (1919), 1244.

¹⁰ W. Hattie, "The Caduceus," *Canad. Med. Assoc. Jour.* XVIII (1928), 79 f; and Karl Zwick, "The Origin and Significance of the Medical Emblem," *Bull. Soc. Med. Hist. of Chicago* IV (1928), 94-105.

caduceus is still used on the collar of medical officers. Perhaps because of a caricature by Charcot of his colleagues in the Paris Medical Faculty, the caduceus is still attached to this body of physicians.¹¹

The use of the caduceus in our army I believe to be due chiefly to the late Colonel Hoff, who has emphasized the suitability of the caduceus as a badge of neutrality. Colonel Garrison urges the retention of the caduceus in order to differentiate our emblem from those of military medicine in other countries.

The argument for the caduceus as a badge of neutrality is open to question. This phase of the symbolism of the caduceus, discussed very fully as it is in Farnell, would seem more appropriate to diplomacy and to embassies.¹² Colonel Garrison wishes to limit very strictly the medical interpretation of the caduceus, since he rejects the phallic symbolism traced by Farnell and Frothingham as being too apt to the psychoanalyst.

The use of the caduceus in medicine I believe to have originated in a confusion between it and the Aesculapian rod. A short article in a French medical journal¹³ points out the obvious commercial phases of Mercury and the caduceus. The author sees in the entwined serpents of the caduceus a purely ornamental motif developed by the Greeks from oriental figures, whereas the single serpent about the rod of Aesculapius symbolizes the wisdom of the serpent and the god's metamorphosis at Rome. Later commentators have attributed to the ornamental motif of the caducean serpents the symbolism of the single Aesculapian serpent.

Without such an arbitrary explanation of the confusion between the two symbols, the question still remains of how the caduceus came to be used as a medical symbol by Froben and Butts early in the sixteenth century.

¹¹ Cf. Garrison, *Mil. Surg.* LVIII (1926), 244 f in a review of Lenoury, *Le Caducée au Cours des Ages*.

¹² Cf. *Cults of the Greek States*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1909), V, 20 f.

¹³ Cf. M. Boigey, "On Confond le Caducée de Mercure et le Baton Serpenteur d'Esculape," *La Presse Medicale* xxxii (1924), No. 12, p. 235 f.

THE VALUE OF GREEK TO RELIGIOUS WORKERS

By SHERMAN KIRK
Drake University

Over the entrance to the Academy at Athens were inscribed the words *Ἀγεωμέτρητος μηδεὶς εἰσὶτω*, "Let no one enter here who is without a knowledge of geometry."

Although times have changed as to the place given to the classics in the college curriculum, to some it would seem a wise provision if at the entrance to the profession of the ministry in its many forms might be written large, "Let no one enter here who is without a knowledge of Greek." It is a most reasonable requirement that those who wish to equip themselves for efficient service as religious workers should have at least a working knowledge of the language in which the literature of the Christian religion was originally written. They should be able to consult the sources of those streams of thought which have watered the otherwise dreary desert of man's earthly pilgrimage and have made it "rejoice and blossom as the rose."

For a millennium before the coming of Christ the Greeks had been developing a language highly inflected and capable of expressing thought in its threefold poetic forms, epic, lyric, and dramatic, and in its threefold prose forms, historical, philosophical, and oratorical. In its fertile soil are to be found the roots of all that is best in the literature of all our modern languages and in whatever field the mind of man may be interested, whether that of poetry, philosophy, politics, law, romance, religion, science, or art.

The poet Shelley pays a just and beautiful tribute to the Greeks and their tongue. He says, "Their very language in variety, in simplicity, in flexibility and in copiousness, excels every other lan-

guage of our western world." And then he acknowledges our debt to the race in these words: "We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts, have their roots in Greece."

Her citizens, imperial spirits,
Rule the present from the past;
On all this world of men inherits
Their seal is set.¹

"Religion," says Henry W. Wieman, "is the undying fire of human aspiration." Interest in religion is universal. It is inherent in human nature. No race or tribe is without it. Man is a worshipful and worshiping being. Often he is groping in the darkness, feeling after God, "if haply he may find Him." He has in his heart a need of the divine, like Chesterton's Wild Knight who cries, "I ride forever seeking after God." It is not more religion that men need so much as it is the truth that will dispel the darkness of ignorance and superstition and give to them the light of life. Religion is essential to the well-being of the individual of society and the state. Cicero put it well when he declared that no state could exist without a belief in deity. One of the worst pronouncements against a person's character made by classical writers is that he is godless — an atheist. Such a one was considered not dependable or reliable, because he had no feeling of responsibility and no one who was impious could possibly be a good citizen.

The world has always had its ministers of religion, its priests and priestesses, its scribes and rabbis, its prophets — preachers of repentance and righteousness, its seers to declare and interpret the will of God. It has had its mediators and intercessors. Now the father acts as priest for the family and tribe. At another time there is the priestly caste as among the Hebrews, Buddhists, or Christians. Various have been the means used to obtain a knowledge of the will of God. Oracles were consulted. The motions and shrill cries of birds have been observed and codified and interpreted by the augur. The appearance and movements of the

¹ The verse is from Shelley's "Hellas" and the prose from his Preface thereto.

viscera of slain animals have been used as means of knowing the will of God. Elaborate ritual services were developed, costly sacrifices were made of burnt offerings and offerings of grains and fruits, libations of wine, oil, milk and honey, solemn ceremonials, processions and recessions, readings from sacred books, and the singing by choirs and congregations of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs." Sometimes there was the presentation of dramas, or contests of physical skill and endurance, or those of an intellectual nature, such as the writing of poems and the reciting of poetry. Or there may be very little of pomp and circumstance, and ceremony and ritual may be reduced to a minimum of simplicity; but those who are entrusted with sacred duties have always been expected to fit themselves for such a service so that it may be rendered in a worthy, dignified, and creditable manner.

When bodies of literature have been created it has been incumbent upon the minister to cherish and preserve this literature in its original form and to learn it thoroughly and know its meaning, so that it may be interpreted for the benefit of those who are to follow its precepts and teachings. The Hebrew scribe of the time of Christ studied the Law of Moses in the original Hebrew, and committed it to memory in the hope that he might be able to repeat it from beginning to end without omission or additions. Above all things it was his desire to cultivate his memory until it would be like a well-plastered cistern that would not leak a drop. He was aware of the difficulty of his task but he was willing to work hard and spare no pains that he might become proficient as an instructor of the children who were sent to him by loyal, devoted parents; and these parents felt that it was their highest privilege and duty to provide for the instruction of their children that they might become thoroughly familiar with that Law which had been cherished with fidelity through their unique history as a people.

When Jesus began his public ministry he made provision for the perpetuation of his teaching by intimately associating with himself the twelve disciples who were to become Apostles trained

under his inimitable guidance. Some of these became authors of gospels and letters which form a part of our Greek New Testament. The outstanding propagandist of early Christianity, however, was Saul of Tarsus, who became Paul the Apostle and the author of at least thirteen of the letters, or well-nigh half the literature of the New Testament. He had been thoroughly trained under Gamaliel as a scribe or rabbi of the Hebrews, but this fine training was to be used in building up that which in his early career he attempted, and with no small degree of success, to tear down. He, too, recognized the necessity of training young men for the ministry of the Word and placing them in charge of congregations which he had helped to create, and he associated young men with himself whom he taught both by precept and example to become efficient religious workers. The priests of other religions have been no less zealous to fit themselves for the service which they wish to render, and one of the chief means employed for this purpose is a thorough acquaintance with the language and literature of their sacred books.

At the present day there is a marked interest in religious education among Protestant Christians. Jews and Roman Catholics through the centuries have held consistently to the practice of the inculcation of religion in early childhood and youth. At present, however, Protestants are stressing religious education and developing programs and projects of surprising magnitude. Great buildings are being constructed and very completely furnished and equipped for this purpose. Courses of study are being provided in colleges and seminaries for the purpose of training young men and women to become directors and superintendents of the work of religious education in our churches. Courses in the principles of religious education in pedagogy, in psychology and methods, in material and content are being offered for teachers and administrators; and for children, youths, and adults graded courses are being prepared, adapted to the various ages and mental development of students.

This is all very heartening in that it gives promise of revolutionizing evangelism through the religious training and culture of

children and young people and of creating an interest in religious truth, in morals and ethics, and in the consequent development of character. Thus may be carried out the scriptural injunction that children be reared in the "nurture and admonition of the Lord," and moral and spiritual training be given a chance to keep pace with the intellectual and physical education provided so generously and universally by the state; and thus may be realized the true end and aim of religious education and training — the unfolding and enlarging of life in all that will beautify and glorify it. To those who know the value of a knowledge of the Greek language and literature to religious workers it is encouraging to know that in some places provision is being made also for this, and students are expected to take courses offered in Greek. However, it is a disappointment not to find more prominence given to this study in modern curricula.

Professor Paul Raymond Stevick, of Morningside College, joint-author of a fine work on *The Principles of Religious Education*, in a letter makes the following pertinent statement:

Professional literature on religious education contains many a thrust at two classes of leaders: those who have content but lack technique of teaching, and those who lack both. To my mind an equally pathetic figure is cut by the person who has fine training in the field of technique but is at the mercy of translators in a very important section of curriculum-content. Not that the technique should be neglected but that the ability to read Greek for himself is as important to the Christian leader as a knowledge of the fine points of conducting discussions or guiding projects. There is in the background of my thinking an alert chap loved by adolescent boys, who conducts discussions and guides projects with genuine skill; whose Christian influence over boys might be trebled if he could read the gospels with them zestfully, enjoyably, helpfully — out of the Greek. Some of those boys I have known for five years. From little experiments I know that they thrill at the possibility of reading other languages. Why compel them to read short stories in various modern languages which most of them will soon forget and deny them the privilege of reading in the Greek some stories which bear vitally on a matter which they now recognize as important and will in most cases always consider important?

One of the greatest problems in conducting a church school is

to secure an adequately trained teaching staff. Our public schools have little difficulty in securing a staff of instructors because teachers in the public schools are paid for their services and must equip themselves to meet the requirements of educational standards. A different condition exists in the church school. Here teachers usually instruct for the love of the service they may be able to render their community. However, it takes more than willingness or natural adaptation or even a good moral character to make a good teacher. Technical training in content and method is needed along with experience under the instruction of able and inspiring teachers. Fortunate is that church which has in its membership college- and university-trained men and women who are at the same time willing to devote some time to the work of teaching young people. I know a teacher of mathematics who has had experience in high school and college and who has taught a class in the church school during his entire life. Though well along in the seventies, he is still teaching a class in which there are about seventy adults enrolled and is doing his work in a most acceptable manner. In his college days the classical course was the only one leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, and the requirements were six years of Latin and three years of Greek. He fulfilled this requirement and threw in two years each of German and French. Early in his college career he made a resolution that sometime he would learn to read Hebrew. This resolution he was unable to carry out until he was seventy years of age. At that time he laid aside other lines of work and gave his time to the study of Hebrew for one year, at the end of which he could read a little in the book of *Genesis*. He never regretted the time spent in the study of the languages, though his preparation was to fit him to be a teacher of mathematics. He says:

When teaching a class in the New Testament the Greek text is my *vade mecum*, and in almost every recitation I have occasion to consult it. Far from posing as a Greek scholar, nevertheless I find immeasurable satisfaction in looking into the Greek text to see just how the thought is expressed in the language in which it was originally written or spoken. "So I read in the Book in the law of God distinctly and give the sense

and cause to understand the reading." Often the class or a member thereof, though not knowing the Greek, asks, "How is it expressed in the Greek?" My teaching, I feel, would be poorer without any knowledge of Greek, limited as that knowledge is.

Another class of religious workers who are especially benefited by a knowledge of Greek is composed of those who go as missionaries to foreign countries and who are obliged to learn the language of the people among whom they are to labor. Aside from the ability to read and interpret the literature of the New Testament in the original language, their training in language study enables them to learn much more quickly and easily any other language. If one learns Greek well, it begets a confidence that will help him in acquiring a working knowledge and proficiency in the use of other languages. Some of my own students who have gone as missionaries to India have been able to acquire a knowledge of Hindi and Sanscrit in just half the time allotted to them for this purpose. I am sure that their testimony in regard to the value of Greek to them would be that the time which they gave to it was not only not wasted but was economically expended.

As to the value of Greek to the minister there should be no question. "Carlyle when asked what he thought about the neglect of Hebrew and Greek by ministers blurted out, 'What! Your priests not know their sacred books?'" If it be objected that the time used in acquiring these languages might better be devoted to something else more practical, it may be said that for the minister who wishes to be the embodiment of high ideals and attainments especially for the youth of his parish and who expects to preach strong, helpful, and inspiring sermons, Hebrew and especially Greek are among the most practical things to which he may give his time and attention. "The practical value of these studies of course presupposes that the student will sooner or later assume responsibility for religious leadership in his church and community."²

The minister should not only be willing but eager to fit himself with the best possible preparation for his high and holy calling.

² Professor Stevick in a letter to the writer.

He should not only desire but determine that he will sometime be at least the equal, if not the superior, in his education and preparation for his work of any person in the community. The young man who expects to be a physician must be willing to pay the price of adequate preparation for his vocation. He must attend our public schools eight years as a primary pupil; four years must be devoted to the courses offered in high school; at least two — preferably four — must be spent in a standard College of Liberal Arts. All of these years, fourteen or sixteen of them, are employed as a preparation for the four strenuous years in the Medical College, and then from one to two or even more years as an interne in some standard hospital providing an ample clinic for observation and practice under the direction of eminent and skilled physicians and surgeons. There are no short cuts for the student of medicine. He must have the courage, the enthusiasm, and the determination that will carry him successfully to the goal. When loved ones need the ministry of the physician or the skill of the surgeon, we want to be able to call one who has had the best training and equipment obtainable.

So it is with those who prepare for the legal profession. They must spare no pains in their educational equipment. They are called upon to protect our rights and prerogatives as members of the social order and as citizens of a republic. When justice and right are in jeopardy, we want one to plead our cause who knows the law and is a constant student of authorities on that subject. We want one who will not in his presentation of our case before judge and jury overlook anything necessary to obtain a verdict in the interest of justice and equity.

What about the minister of religion who must deal with the most delicate and most wonderful thing in all the world — the human spirit? Should he, too, not be willing and eager to devote as much time and pains to his preparation for his "high and holy calling" as the physician or lawyer? If not, how can he hope to command the respect of members of these and other professions and vocations in any community to which he may be called?

If he is to be the interpreter and exponent of that literature

in which are enshrined the principles and precepts of the Christian religion, is it too much to ask that he shall master the language in which those truths were first set forth in written form? What could give him or his parishioners greater confidence in his ability to meet and cope successfully with the exacting duties of his pulpit than a first-hand knowledge of the language of the New Testament? Alfred Bowen in his *Gleanings from a Literary Life*³ says that,

Without a tolerable knowledge of that language (Greek) it may fairly be said that the student of science, however earnest and capable, knows hardly a word of what he is talking about. Without such a knowledge [he continues] the lawyer must seem even to himself in the names and writs which he every day draws and in the phraseology of the legal aphorisms which he is compelled constantly to cite, to be prating a jargon compared with which even Choctaw would be significant and harmonious. Without it the physician cannot read intelligently a single page of a medical book. Without it the divine, except by dim approximation and with much blind trust in very fallible human guides, cannot interpret the very title deeds of man's salvation.

Dr. William Mackenzie⁴ says:

The thorough investigation of the New Testament in its history and meanings must forever rest on a knowledge of the Greek language. He who knows it not is shut off from a personal consideration of the deepest problems concerning the origins of the faith which he professes.

A knowledge of the Greek will enable one to see much that cannot be brought out in any translation. The original will suggest many things not suggested by any translation or by any commentary. There is a satisfaction in knowing the original that cannot be derived from any other source. Jesus said, "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." It is worth one's while to know the language in which that truth is found which has given liberty to captives, has bound up the broken-hearted, that has been preached as good tidings to the meek, that has opened prisons for those that were in bonds, that has comforted those that mourn and given unto them a garland for ashes,

³ New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1880), 12.

⁴ *Apud* F. W. Kelsey, *Latin and Greek in American Education*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1911), 159.

the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness.

We have come upon evil days in our modern methods when students are led to believe that nothing is gained by a knowledge of the Greek, since translations, as is said, give one all that is necessary to an understanding of the literature of the Christian religion. Why spend valuable years, we are asked, in trying to learn Greek when the time could be more profitably spent in other ways? "Translations," says James Beattie, "are like portraits. They may give some idea of the lineaments and color, but the life and motion they cannot copy and too often instead of exhibiting the air of the original they present us with that only which is most agreeable to the taste of the painter. Abolish the originals, and you will soon see the copies degenerate." In harmony with this President Mackenzie says, "Those who do not possess these weapons of a full Christian culture (a knowledge of the ancient languages) will tend to read only what is easy and avoid scholarly works that contain even a few Greek words or Latin quotations." Commentaries that are really worthy of a place in a minister's library or of his time and attention are largely those in which there are copious quotations from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Without some acquaintance with these languages the greatest values to be derived from these learned works are lost to him.

In the use of such aids to interpretation Professor Hugh Black⁵ says:

Apart from the absurdity of a man's dealing in any profound way with a book of whose language he is ignorant, it ought to be remembered that practically all learned commentaries are unreadable to the man who does not know Hebrew and Greek. . . . Whatever place is given to other methods of training for special work, Latin and Greek will remain as a necessary part of the equipment of the theological scholar.

Dr. Hayes⁶ in his *Greek Culture and the Greek New Testament*, says:

The longer we live the more we appreciate the truth of what our

⁵ *Apud* Kelsey, *op. cit.*, 184 f.

⁶ New York, Abingdon Press (1925), 189 f.

professor of New Testament Greek once said: "The reading of the original is as compared with the reading of commentaries an economy of time and strength. What the commentator attempts to explain in many words and long periphrases the Greek itself often flashes directly and graphically upon the mind. Indeed it may be said that the tersest, wisest, most spiritual and most inspiring of commentaries on the New Testament in English is the New Testament in Greek." . . . We are reminded of that old Scotch woman, life-long student of the Word, to whom her pastor loaned some commentaries. She returned them after a time saying, "They are good books. I find that the Bible throws much light upon them." The Greek New Testament throws much light upon the Word, and light not found in the commentaries many times, and not to be expected because impossible in an English translation.

"Modern history" [says Henry Cabot Lodge ⁷] "begins with the revival of learning and the revival of learning was the resurrection of the literature and civilization of Greece and Rome . . . and indissolubly associated with the rebirth of intellectual freedom. . . . When Fox founded Corpus Christi College at Oxford early in the sixteenth century he established two chairs for Greek and Latin to 'extirpate barbarism.'"

Among the names of those most prominent in the revival of learning none are more prominent than Reuchlin and Erasmus, the former being the first to publish in Germany a Hebrew grammar and dictionary, thus making it possible for students to become acquainted with the original language of the Old Testament, while Erasmus interested himself in the Greek of the New Testament.

The study of Greek and Latin literature had opened a new prospect to the modern genius that was beginning to awaken from its slumber in Europe. Erasmus eagerly embraced the idea of the Italians that the sciences ought to be studied in the schools of the ancients, and that laying aside the inadequate and absurd works that had hitherto been in use, men should study geography in Strabo, medicine in Hippocrates, philosophy in Plato, mythology in Ovid, and natural history in Pliny. But he went a step further, and it was the step of a giant and must necessarily have led to the discovery of a new world of greater importance to the interests of humanity than that which Columbus had recently added to the old. Erasmus, following out his principle, required that men should no longer study the theology of Scotus and Aquinas, but go and learn

⁷ *Apud* Andrew F. West, *Value of the Classics*: Princeton University Press (1917), 98 f.

it in the writings of the Fathers of the church and above all in the New Testament . . . and he rendered an incalculable service to truth by publishing his critical edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, a text as little known in the West as if it had never existed. This work appeared at Basle in 1516. Erasmus thus did for the New Testament what Reuchlin had done for the Old. Henceforward divines were able to read the Word of God in the original language. . . . "It is my desire," said Erasmus on publishing his New Testament, "to lead back that cold disputer of words, styled theology, to its real fountain. . . ." His wish was realized. . . . The New Testament of Erasmus gave out a bright flash of light. . . . His paraphrases on the Epistles, and on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John; his editions of Cyprian and Jerome; his translations of Origen, Athanasius and Chrysostom; his *Principles of True Theology*, his *Preacher*, and his commentaries on various Psalms, contributed powerfully to diffuse a taste for the Word of God and for pure theology. The result of his labours even went beyond his intentions.⁸

Thus did Erasmus give to students the real New Testament, and "The real New Testament," says Dr. A. T. Robertson,⁹ "is the Greek New Testament. Anything else is only a translation, not the actual New Testament."

The church of today is in need of a ministry that is able to interpret the Scriptures with some degree of independence, a ministry giving heed to the admonition of Paul, who wrote to Timothy and bade him "study to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth." The church is seeking one who is willing to acquaint himself thoroughly with the Scriptures — the sacred writings that are able to make men wise unto salvation. And the student who is preparing for the ministry should not shy at the difficulty of learning Greek. To be sure, there are other studies that should claim his attention because of their importance, but he should never be too busy with other things and neglect that which is the main thing. Fairbairn says: "No man can be a theologian who is not a philologist. He who is no grammarian

⁸ J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, translated by H. White: New York, American Tract Society (1847), I, 123 f.

⁹ *The Minister and His Greek New Testament*: New York, George H. Doran and Co. (1923), 17.

is no divine." Some one has said that grammar is a means of grace.

The minister who knows his Greek New Testament and who systematically reads and studies it will find it a constant source of inspiration. His audience will thrill at the freshness and vigor, the confidence and forcefulness of his preaching. They will be conscious of the fact that he has a clear vision and a right understanding of his theme because of his intimate acquaintance with the sources of his theme. He has a first-hand knowledge of that Word which he preaches. He knows where to place the emphasis. He puts first things first. He stresses the great principles of religion. He does not stress the tithing of mint, anise, and cumin and neglect the weightier matters of the law — justice, mercy, and faith. He is less likely to be led astray by vagaries and extreme views or foolish attempts to bolster up pet theories based on faulty translations of the Bible and consequent wrong interpretations. He is saved from narrowness and bigotry and is less likely to be an extremist of any kind.

The late Professor Kelsey, of the University of Michigan, some years ago gathered statistics concerning the number of students in our theological seminaries and schools of religion in preparation for the ministry. On the basis of the data obtained he wrote an article ¹⁰ on "Greek in the High School and the Question of the Supply of Candidates for the Ministry." His compilation of statistics over a given period indicated that the supply of candidates at that time was not keeping pace with the increase in population, and his contention was that one of the chief reasons for this lack of candidates was the fact that Greek was not being offered in the high school. As a consequence young men were being discouraged from giving favorable consideration to the ministry as a vocation because of being handicapped in their preparation, since Greek was then required for any degree in practically all reputable schools of religion and many felt that the time required for making up Greek rendered it a discouraging undertaking. He therefore advocated giving Greek a place

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 186-208.

in the high-school curriculum, that the quota of students for the ministry might be maintained. The tendency in theological schools today is to drop the requirement of Hebrew or Greek, leaving the student to elect but one; and in some schools degrees may be obtained without a knowledge of either language.

Personally, I should like to see Greek in the curriculum of the high school and given an equal chance with Latin. I think it would be the means of securing some candidates for the ministry of the quality that should enter that profession, for in regard to the question of the supply of candidates for the ministry my own feeling is that it is not numbers so much as quality that is needed. Professor Benjamin B. Warfield says of the classical training, "What I chiefly value in it is the quality of mind it produces." It is certainly quality — high quality of mind — that the church needs in its ministry. The Dean and his staff of teachers in the School of Religion yearn for more young men and women of strong mentality, of loftier aspirations, and higher ideals among those who are preparing for religious work. There are some who believe that the time is rapidly coming when higher qualifications both natural and cultural will be required of candidates for the ministry.

The minister has need of the broadest possible preparation. Like the "parson" of an earlier day he must be *the person* whose wide knowledge makes him the most helpful member of the community, for to him all will go for sympathy and understanding. He must command the respect of the most cultured and refined. His interest and concern must also be felt by those who by force of circumstances find themselves on the lower social strata. Such men will not balk at learning Greek when it is required of them. When young men feel that they can have a field in which they can hope for a reasonably fair degree of success and a task that is really worthy of their efforts, they will not hesitate to give the ministry fair consideration; and there will be an increasingly larger number of candidates from an environment that fosters ideals such as the vocation of the ministry should attract to itself.

SOME REMARKS ON AESCHINES' CAREER AS AN ACTOR ¹

By ALFRED P. DORJAHN
Northwestern University

The scanty and apparently contradictory evidence on Aeschines' career as an actor has given rise to various and widely diverging estimates concerning his efficiency in the histrionic profession. Mrs. Wright, for example, states briefly that Aeschines was a provincial actor "without success." A somewhat more generous estimate is expressed by Fowler, who believes that Aeschines was "at least a fair actor." Blass concedes that Aeschines possessed a certain amount of talent as an actor, but not sufficient to encourage him to continue in this profession permanently. Adams comes to the conclusion that as an actor Aeschines "fell just short of the highest attainments." Rees regards Aeschines as "an actor of much talent." ² The less favorable estimates rest on twofold evidence: (1) Demosthenes' disparaging remarks; and (2) the tradition that, while playing the part of Oenomaus at Collytus and pursuing Pelops across the stage, Aeschines fell so awkwardly that he had to be helped to his feet by the chorus-master Sannio. The more favorable estimates rest primarily on the following items of evidence extracted from Demosthenes, *De Falsa Lega-*

¹ An abridgment of a paper read at the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Nashville, Tenn., April 6, 1928.

² The books referred to in this paragraph are: Wright, *Greek Literature*: Chicago, American Book Co. (1907), 358; Fowler, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature*: New York, Appleton and Co. (1902), 349; Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*: Leipzig, Teubner (1893), III, 2, 158; Adams, *Aeschines* (Loeb Classical Library): New York, Putnam's Sons (1919), ix; Rees, *The So-Called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1908), 39, n. 1.

tion and *De Corona*: (1) Aeschines had natural gifts, especially a good voice; (2) he was associated professionally with Theodorus and Aristodemus, the most celebrated actors of his time; and (3) he played important rôles.³

This paper deals, first, with the story of Aeschines' fall; second, with the relative credibility of the pertinent passages in Demosthenes' orations against Aeschines; and third, with certain factors which seem to support the more favorable estimates of Aeschines' career as an actor.

By way of comment on the story of the accident at Collytus, Jebb says: "Modern life has probably no parallel for such a fiasco. If one could conceive the sum of all disasters that can mar a solemnity, or an opera, occurring before 5,000 attentive Parisians, it might be easier to comprehend why Aeschines left the stage."⁴ Before subscribing to Jebb's statement, it seems advisable to pry a little deeper into this anecdote. In one of the most vehement passages of the *De Corona* (180), Demosthenes asserts that Aeschines "murdered the part of Oenomaus at Collytus." This is the basis of the remarks of Demochares, as preserved by the anonymous biographer (*Vita Aeschinis* 11), as well as of the brief statements by Apollonius (*Vita Aes.* 3) and Harpocration (*s. v.* "Ισχυανδρος"). Neither Philostratus nor any other later writer has drawn his material on this point from an independent or authoritative source. For present purposes, only the most detailed account of the alleged fiasco, that of the anonymous biographer, need be examined. This writer begins by giving the names of Aeschines' parents, and continues by relating the main events of the orator's life in chronological order. As a result, he refers to Aeschines' participation in the drama early in the *Vita*, stating that he became an actor in tragedy as a young man and in the capacity of tritagonist. Abiding by the chronological order of ar-

³ Good discussions of the ancient evidence may be found in Schaefer, *Demosthenes und Seine Zeit*²: Leipzig, Teubner (1885), I, 238-50; and O'Connor, *Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*: Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1908), 74-77.

⁴ *The Attic Orators*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1876), II, 396.

rangement, he finally mentions the last years of Aeschines' life. Here the *Vita* should properly end, but we find an appended paragraph stating that Aeschines, while playing the part of Oenomaus and pursuing Pelops across the stage, fell so awkwardly that he had to be helped to his feet by Sannio, the chorus-master. In the first place, the position of this story, at the very end of the *Vita* and entirely out of its proper chronological order, suggests that it was not a part of the original biography but represents a later accretion. According to Leo,⁵ at any rate, ancient biographies grew in this manner. In the second place, the author's words which introduce the story are significant: "Demochares, the nephew of Demosthenes, says. . . ." The author adds, "If indeed he is to be believed when speaking about Aeschines." This important consideration apparently has never entered the minds of some modern critics. Finally, the whole story of an actor falling on the stage and being unable to arise without assistance, though ascribed to Demochares, seems to portray conditions which belong to a later time and not to Aeschines' day. Before the introduction of the high-soled buskin,⁶ such an occurrence is not easily conceivable. Professor J. T. Allen⁷ says of the actor of the fifth century that "he could run, dance, climb, kneel, fall, and rise again unassisted . . ." These words may well apply to Aeschines' day also. The origin of the amusing little incident of the fall on the stage is to be sought in a later day, when such happenings were not uncommon. Lucian (*Gallus* 26), at any rate, says that in his day an actor often fell. In short, the position of the anecdote in the *Vita*, the warning words of the biographer, and the conditions which the incident postulates combine to render the authenticity of the tradition very doubtful.

⁵ *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*: Leipzig, Teubner (1901), 34.

⁶ Though the introduction of the high-soled buskin was formerly ascribed to Aeschylus, that view has now been challenged or abandoned by several scholars; cf. K. K. Smith in *Harvard Studies* xvi (1905), 123-64; O. Navarre, *Le Théâtre Grec*: Paris, Payot (1925), 199 f; J. T. Allen, *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans and Their Influence*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1927), 144-48; and Fräulein Bieber in *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v. "Kothurn."

⁷ *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Class. Phil.* II (1916), 282.

Why have some scholars believed the story of the ridiculous fall? Its credibility seems to rest primarily on the fact that an invented story would normally be vague and not contain such details as the place of the alleged accident, the name of the chorus-master, and Aeschines' specific rôle. But the trick of adding details to a falsehood in order to give it greater verisimilitude is an old device. Aeschines (*Con. Ctes.* 99) was acquainted with it and ascribes the bold and successful practice of it to Demosthenes.

Authorities⁸ do not hesitate to admit that all information on Aeschines, the actor, which has come down to the present day, rests ultimately on the orations of Demosthenes. Caecilius, Demetrius, Idomeneus, Hermippus, and Demochares do not represent independent traditions. Unfortunately the information on this point which Demosthenes gives in the oration *On the Embassy* is at variance with that contained in the oration *On the Crown*. In the former, he taunts Aeschines for having been a "tritagonist" and implies that he was a general failure as an actor. The meaning of the word "tritagonist" in this period was misunderstood until Kelley Rees (*op. cit.* 31-40) demonstrated that it meant "third-rate actor" and not "actor of third rôles." The technical meaning of the term developed later; Demosthenes probably coined the expression for the specific purpose of applying it to his rival in a derisive sense. In the first third of the oration *On the Crown*, Demosthenes proceeds cautiously, watching the attitude of the jury; he devotes himself to a discussion of his own political activity and a defense of his policy; neither his own private life nor that of his opponent has a share in this part of the oration. When, however, he reached § 126, the dicasts had already indicated their approval of his political course; so he begins to pour forth his stream of abuse. He not only belittles Aeschines generally as a "tritagonist" and an unsuccessful actor, but refers specifically to his "slaughter of Oenomaus at Collytus" and brands him "a rural Oenomaus."

In which of these orations does Demosthenes give the more

⁸ For example, Blass and O'Connor, as cited in n. 2.

accurate account of Aeschines? The former oration was delivered in the summer of 343 B.C., probably not long after Aeschines' retirement from the stage. At this time the quality of Aeschines' acting was still well known to some of the Athenian dicasts; consequently, Demosthenes' words are probably nearer the truth here than in the later oration. Furthermore, in this suit Demosthenes, as prosecutor, spoke first. Accordingly, he had to be careful not to depart too far from the truth, for Aeschines had an opportunity of pointing out what was false in his speech. In the oration *On the Crown*, delivered thirteen years later, in August, 330, the situation was different. Demosthenes, as the defendant's advocate, spoke last, and Aeschines could not reveal the mendacity of his statements. As a result, we have here a much more distorted picture of Aeschines' private life and that of his parents. His father is no longer a respectable schoolmaster, but a slave in shackles; his mother is degraded from a priestess to a common prostitute. Aeschines himself suffers a similar transformation. So far as his career as an actor is concerned, we find him not the associate of the famous Theodorus and Aristodemus but of Simylus and Socrates, "the Growlers." Here we learn also that Aeschines murdered the part of Oenomaus while playing at Collytus, an incident not mentioned in the oration *On the Embassy*. In this oration Demosthenes knew that he could exaggerate. Aeschines' father, who, at the age of ninety-four, was present at the trial thirteen years before, was now doubtless dead, as were his age-fellows; likewise, those who were best acquainted with the life and character of Aeschines' mother were probably gone; Aeschines' accomplishments as an actor were no longer so vivid in the minds of his fellow men as thirteen years previously.

The fact that Aeschines does not say a word about his connection with the theater has led so great an authority as Arnold Schaefer (*op. cit.* 238) to believe that the scathing remarks of Demosthenes are true. This, however, seems to be a superficial observation. In the earlier oration (*On the Embassy*), it is to be remembered, the flings at Aeschines, the actor, were not especially serious; there were other far more serious charges. The

former, Aeschines passed over; but the latter he answered. That he followed the right course is obvious from the fact that he was acquitted by the court. Here Aeschines spoke last and had the opportunity of refuting what the plaintiff had said. In the case on the crowning of Demosthenes, proposed by Ctesiphon, the situation was otherwise. Aeschines, who attacked the proposal as illegal, was obliged to speak first. He could not surmise all the things that Demosthenes would say; so he could not meet them beforehand. He may also have realized that his career as an actor would have little or nothing to do with the verdict of the dicasts in the present suit. Under such circumstances the *argumentum ex silentio* must not be pressed.

I shall now set down a few observations which seem to corroborate the more favorable estimates of Aeschines' efficiency as an actor.

Without attaching any great importance to the matter, it may be of some profit to dwell on the relationship that existed between Aristodemus and Aeschines after the latter had presumably retired from the stage and entered upon a public career. It does not seem probable that Aeschines could have retained the professional respect of so illustrious an actor as Aristodemus, if he himself had been an out-and-out failure. But apparently he did retain his respect. Obviously Aeschines' career as an actor was not made the target for a single thrust by Aristodemus during the entire period that these two men served with Demosthenes and others on the embassy to the court of Philip which concluded the peace of Philocrates in the spring of 346. A single derogatory remark by the renowned Aristodemus would surely have been capitalized by Demosthenes at those points in his speeches where he ridicules Aeschines' ability and accomplishments as an actor. But there is nothing of this sort. Demosthenes had no such authority to quote; he simply drew a picture of Aeschines that suited his own fancy and the exigency of the moment.

In all his extant orations, Aeschines quotes poetry, often long passages from tragedy. If the incident at Collytus actually had happened or if Aeschines had been in general unsuccessful on the

stage, it is hardly conceivable that he would have been so eager to quote passages which would remind him or the dicasts of his lack of success on the stage, especially if he had been guilty of a ridiculous fall.

In addition to his native ability, Aeschines was endowed with an abundance of physical courage, an important asset to an actor. His splendid military record leaves no doubt concerning his courage.

It is, furthermore, possible that Aeschines' orations throw a little light on his stage manners and habits. An actor with a fondness for unnecessary gestures and movements might conceivably fall in the awkward manner ascribed to Aeschines by the anonymous biographer. But Aeschines seems to have been a calm and careful individual, for in the oration *Against Ctesiphon* (167) he rebukes Demosthenes for walking around in unnecessary circles while talking. Furthermore, he upbraids the orators of his day for speaking with arms outside their robe (*Con. Timar.* 25-37; cf. *Demos. De Fals. Legat.* 252). Solon, he maintains, did not speak in this unbecoming manner; and to corroborate his assertion, he calls attention to a well-known statue of Solon. A statue of Aeschines, preserved to this day, shows him with body and arms well covered, while a statue of Demosthenes reveals both arms and chest bare.⁹ Such was Aeschines' attitude as an orator; his temperament, as an actor, was probably the same, for a calm and restrained orator rarely develops from a wild and uncontrolled actor. Habits and temperament are not easily changed.

Even in the story of the fall there is a slight tribute to Aeschines by virtue of his association with so remarkable a chorus-master as Sannio.

According to Aristotle (*Politics* VII, 17), Theodorus always insisted on appearing first on the stage, lest another actor in his troupe should gain the favor of the audience for himself. This is a high compliment by one of the greatest actors of antiquity to the skill of his associates, in whose number was Aeschines.

⁹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*On Demos.* 53 f) speaks of movements of body and arms that accompanied Demosthenes' words.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

THE TRANSFER OF THE SOUL AT DEATH

The belief that the soul passed out of the body through the mouth was an ancient one.¹ Tylor cites a custom which parallels the belief: "Among the Seminoles of Florida, when a woman dies in childbirth, the infant was held over her face to receive her parting spirit, and thus acquire strength and knowledge for its future use."² The interpretation of this act is no doubt Tylor's own and will be recalled in a passage to be cited later.

No passage from early Greek literature is cited which could indicate that Greek superstition held that the soul may be transferred thus from one to another, a possibility that may be suggested in Tennyson's line,

And our spirits rushed together at the touching of the lips.

That it was held by the Romans is supported by a goodly number of references. Cicero (*In Verr.* V, 45, 118) gives the following: *Matresque miserae pernoctabant ad ostium carceris, ab extremo conspectu liberum exclusae; quae nihil aliud orabant, nisi ut filiorum suorum postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret.*

The note in the Lemaire edition, edited by J. Vict. LeClerc, says: *Hoc dictum ex more veterum apud quos qui sanguine proxi-*

¹ Cf. Thomas Shearer Duncan, "The Weasel in Religion, Myth, and Superstition," *Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series* xii, No. 1 (1924), 33-56; the references are given on p. 48. To the references there cited add Sen., *Herc. Fur.* 1308-10: *hanc animam levem . . . in ore primo teneo*. Professor C. B. Brown of the Department of Spanish, Washington University, supplies an example from the characters Leonida and Lisandro in *La Galatia*; Cervantes, *Obras Completas*, edited by Schevill and Bonilla: Madrid (1914), I, 83, ll. 21-24.

² *Primitive Culture* 7: New York, Brentano's (1925), 433; quoted by Rohde, *Psyche*; The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks, translated by W. B. Hillis: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1925), 47, n. 25.

*mus erat, morientis extremum spiritum osculo excipiebat, quod ab usque Homeri temporibus usitatum fuit.*³ Then the commentator cites *Aeneid* iv, 646 f. It is interesting, too, that he feels he must discuss the propriety of the reading *ore*, and he concludes that, although almost all the books omit it, the word is attested by Quintilian.⁴ The word is necessary to the present discussion and is supported by other citations. The evidence, however, on which LeClerc bases his statement that the practice was followed in Homer's time, does not appear. In fact, the passage from Homer (*Iliad* ix, 409) would imply only that the soul when it passed out of the body is dissipated into the air and cannot be collected again.⁵

The passage in Vergil which recalls the superstition is as follows:

*Et extremus si quis super halitus errat
ore legam (Aen. iv, 684 f).*

It is Anna who speaks here. Donatus explains her wish: *Observare enim volo exeuntem spiritum.* He interprets thus: *Ideo hoc dixit, quia hunc carissimi colligere se posse arbitrantur, licet teneri non possit.* On the words, *ore legam*, Servius says: *Mulieriter, tamquam possit animam sororis excipere et in se transferre.* But at least one instance, to be sure a later one, is cited where it is not a woman who performs the last tender service.

With the ancient commentators on the *Aeneid*, at this point, Conington, following Gossrau, disagreed.⁶ Both of these hold to the idea that Anna's act is an attempt "to preserve the last spark of life in her sister." Henry quotes them to refute them. He thinks that the situation here is the same as that illustrated in the passage from Cicero, and here the Latin supports his view.

³ Paris, Firmin Didot (1827).

⁴ For the Greek references to the soul as the breath, cf. T. S. Duncan, *op. cit.* p. 48 f and notes.

⁵ According to another superstition the soul was taken from the eyes; cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex Lapidibus Conlecta*: Berlin, Reimer (1878), 324, l. 14.

⁶ Henry, *Aeneidea*: London, Williams and Norgate (1873), II, 844 f.

Whether the parallel which he cites from Ovid, however, recalls the same practice may well be questioned; cf. *Metam.* XII, 424:

*oraeque ad ora
admovent: atque animae fugienti obsistere tentat.*

It is not very evident here that Hylonome is attempting to preserve in herself the soul of Cyllarus. The words *obsistere tentat* seem to say only that she attempts to stay the flight of his spirit, though the transfer may be implied. In the story of Hyacinthus (*ibid.* x, 188), Apollo renders the same tender service, this time by the application of healing herbs:

nunc animam admotis fugientem sustinet herbis.

Here a transfer of the soul is not to be thought of.

To support his view Henry cites further the instance of St. Ambrose and his dying brother Satyrus.⁷ He argues that, if St. Ambrose blew into his brother's mouth and received his brother's breath into his own mouth, "it was not that he expected to give or receive physical corporeal benefit; it was in order to be spiritually united with his brother in his death (*ut consortium mortis hauriret*)." In order, as he says, to do justice to the great man St. Ambrose, Henry quotes the passage at length. For the purpose of this note the significant sentence is sufficient: *Atque utinam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam producere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem, et illam tui animi puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus!*

It is to be noted that, though what is done here is an act of superstition, the superstition has been studied and is justified by the one who follows it. St. Ambrose elaborates upon the virtue to be gained from it. The fact that the Christian saint does so would indicate how deeply rooted the superstition was.

The Ladewig-Schaper edition of the *Aeneid*⁸ adds to those already cited a passage in Suetonius (*Augustus* xcix) that records the death of Augustus: *Omnibus deinde dimissis, dum advenientes ab urbe de Drusi filia aegra interrogat, repente in*

⁷ Cf. Henry, *loc. cit.*, and *Patrologia Latina*, edited by Migne, Vol. XVI: Paris, Garnier Frères (1880), 1353.

⁸ Revised by Deuticke: Berlin, Weidmann (1902).

osculis Liviae . . . defecit. The translation in the Loeb Series is, "He suddenly passed away as he was kissing Livia."⁹ From these words it could hardly be determined that Livia was following the ancient superstition, though it may well be implied.

Rohde (*loc. cit.*) also cites from Kaibel an inscription from Cagliari in Sardinia that records the same superstition.¹⁰ The whole epigram is pretty and the following lines are pertinent to this subject: "When Philippus gave up the breath from his body, bringing his soul right up to his lips, Pomptilla stood over her dying spouse and received into herself his life."

Two illustrations, not already cited, come from the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, vss. 95-97. They present one or two interesting features and hence are cited in full:

*At miserranda parens suprema neque OSCULA LĒGIT
frigida nec fovit membra tremante sinu;
non animam apposito fugientem excepit hiatu.*¹¹

Here it would seem that two separate acts are indicated in the first and third lines, unless one is to say that after the common rhetorical manner of the elegy the same act is expressed in two different ways. If two acts are indicated, Livia is represented as bereft of two of a mother's privileges, viz. receiving the last kiss before death as a token of affection, and catching the spirit of her son with his dying breath. The passages as a whole would seem to bear out the former interpretation. If so, the lines in Suetonius may not refer to the ancient practice.

The second instance represents Livia as imagining that her son Nero Drusus had lived and, with his brother, had survived to render the last service to her:

⁹ Edited by J. C. Rolfe: New York, Macmillan Co. (1914), now handled in this country by Putnam's.

¹⁰ Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X, pp. 783 f:

ἦδε γὰρ ἡνίκα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλνε Φίλιππος
ψυχὴν ἀκροτάτοις χεῖλεσι προσπελάσας
στᾶσα λιποψυχοῦντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πόμπτιλλα
τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου.

¹¹ *Poetae Latini Minores*, edited by Vollmer: Leipzig, Teubner (1923), II, 2, 22.

*Sospite te saltem moriar, Nero: tu mea condas
lumina et excipias hanc animam ore pio* (vss. 157 f).

From this as well as from the passage of St. Ambrose, it is seen to be possible for the nearest male relative to receive the departing spirit.

The tradition seems to be that the superstition is very old; and no doubt it is. It is surprising, however, that a comparatively small number of references to it is found in Roman literature and seemingly none in Greek.

THOMAS SHEARER DUNCAN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

AESCHINES AND TWO HOMERIC QUOTATIONS

It is well known to students of Homer and of the *Epic Cycle* that Aeschines quotes Homer as using in the *Iliad* a repeated phrase which is never found in that poem, *φήμη δ' εἰς στρατὸν ἦλθε*. Sengebusch in his deservedly famous *Homeric Dissertation Prior*, p. 108, says: "There are two explanations of the difficulty found in this statement of Aeschines: either the phrase was interpolated in the orator's copy of the *Iliad*, or he was not quoting from the poem we now have, but from the *Little Iliad*, a poem generally assigned to Homer."

In the *Unity of Homer*¹ I attempted to account for this statement of Aeschines by showing that, although the *Iliad* does not have this identical phrase as quoted in the orator, yet it has other words giving the same meaning, and that, while the actual words of the *Iliad* were changed, the general idea was preserved, and the idea was all important; hence there is no need to assume a reference to any other *Iliad* than the one we now have.

Aeschines himself furnishes just the proof needed for that hypothesis, and I am mortified to find that I overlooked it when searching for such a proof. In his oration *Contra Ctesiphontem* 231, he likens the indignation men ought to feel at the crowning

¹ Berkeley, University of California Press (1921), 30.

of Demosthenes to that which an audience would feel if Thersites should be represented at a dramatic festival as crowned by the Greeks, "Thersites whom Homer called a coward and a sycophant" (ἄνδρον καὶ συκοφάντη); yet neither one of these words is found in Homer nor anything resembling either. However, the phrase so completely describes the Thersites of the *Iliad* that there can be no doubt that he is referring to that poem. The word "sycophant" is so alien to Homeric or epic conditions that no one has assigned this to any poem of the *Cycle*, and it involves the added difficulty that epic poetry cannot use a long word that begins with a cretic.

The fact that Aeschines quotes Homer as using the words ἄνδρον καὶ συκοφάντη takes all force from the argument that, when he assigns the word φῆμη to the *Iliad*, he must refer either to an interpolated edition or to some other *Iliad*, perhaps the *Little Iliad*.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Book Reviews

KEITH PRESTON, *Pot Shots From Pegasus*, with an Introduction by Christopher Morley: New York, Covici Friede (1929). Pp. xi+243. \$2.50.

This book is a posthumous collection of light verse and pithy comments in prose, gathered by Mrs. Preston from various sources, chiefly the *Chicago Daily News*, in which newspaper Keith Preston edited a daily column, well known and widely read, called "Hit or Miss" and a Wednesday column of literary observations and criticism, "The Periscope." For a year prior to his death in 1927 Preston was also literary editor of the Wednesday book page of the *Daily News*.

Preston was a classical scholar and teacher turned "colyumist" and critic. It is this fact that will cause readers of the JOURNAL, to whom Preston's name is by no means unfamiliar, to turn to *Pot Shots* with peculiar interest, for this *olla podrida* is shot through from beginning to end with classical allusions. The ancient world of culture suggests a multitude of themes. As Preston himself says, in that delightful little essay on "The Professor and Modern Literature" (p. 237 of *Pot Shots*):

We may knock and disown our degrees if we will,
But the stamp of the Ph. D. sticks to us still.

It is well that it does, we may say in passing, for the literary critic, even the ordinary journalist, who is void of classical training, suffers eternally from a lack which can be supplied by nothing else.

With this background, and gifted with a native critical faculty of unusual power and with a perennial sense of humor which enlivens and enlightens almost every line of his work, Preston has left behind him a truly Horatian monument, a vest-pocket (*ut ita dicamus* — the book is octavo in size) anthology of sane and witty criticism of books and events of his day, of transla-

tions and parodies in verse from Latin and Greek authors, of comments on men and things, at once deft, racy, facetious, sprightly, trenchant, pungent, sententious — these threadbare adjectives have been given a new meaning by Preston's pen.

Mr. Christopher Morley has written a brief Introduction which is both a characterization and a tribute:

Preston was a parodist, punster, satirist, and wit. . . . He brought to his diurnal oracles the clear focus and perspective of a trained scholar. . . . There was always the specially Latin flavour in his verses, a sort of phosphate of lime and Plautus, an acetylene sparkle. His mind was suckled at the dugs of the Roman wolf, he was Uncle Romulus rather than Uncle Remus [Pp. v f].

The first part of the book, following the Introduction and a short autobiographical sketch in true Prestonic vein, consists entirely of verse; the second part, of prose selections varying in length from a sentence to several pages.

It is impossible to convey in these few "lame paragraphs" any adequate idea of the nature or quality of Preston's genius as it is evidenced in his "pot shots." Preston does not rise to heights of feeling and sentiment as Eugene Field could and did, nor is he the calm, unruffled philosopher that Bert Leston Taylor so often was; but first, last, and always he is supremely the wit, and as a wit he has no peer. He is master of the quick turn, the *bon mot*.

His fellow classicists and personal friends, whose privilege it was to know him, will, as they read, recall the charm of that shy, whimsical smile of Preston the fencer, after each thrust; but other readers none the less will glimpse the flash of the rapier, observe the delicate but definite hit, and snigger "unavoidably" at their own surprise.

Pot Shots is a book that can be opened and read at any page with quiet enjoyment. It has neither continuity nor an Index, nor needs either. One should sip the book, a little at a time, chuckle over it, drop it, and come back to it when another leisure moment is at hand. Thus will its peculiar flavor last, a flavor both rare and fine.

Our classical readers are recommended, if the word of a personal friend but disinterested reviewer may be taken at par, to use *Pot Shots* as a Christmas gift. It will lend itself admirably to that purpose if given in the spirit which lies behind Preston's striking lines (pp. 91 f):

THE FIRST CHRISTMAS

Peter was a fisher boy
 Helping with the haul;
 Pilate was a shavetail
 Leading troops in Gaul.
 Judas was as innocent
 As little child can be;
 The wood that made the crucifix
 Was still a growing tree;
 Unminted was the silver
 That made the traitor's pay,
 And none had yet commercialized
 The spirit of the day.

PAYSON S. WILD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHARLES KNAPP, *The Aeneid of Vergil, Books I-VI, Selections VII-XII*,² with an Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Company (1928). Pp. 646+202. \$1.96.

CHARLES KNAPP, *The Aeneid of Vergil, Books I-VI, and the Metamorphoses of Ovid, Selections*,² with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Company (1928). Pp. 646+202. \$1.96.

Since 1901, when Professor Knapp published his edition of Vergil's *Aeneid*, Books I-VI with selections from VII-XII, the book has been widely used in schools throughout the country and has proved its worth. This new edition, although it follows the plan of the first, represents a thorough revision; and all who know Professor Knapp will realize that revision with him is no perfunctory term: "Every line of the earlier Introduction, Commentary, and Vocabulary has been scrutinized repeatedly, with mi-

nutest care; innumerable changes and additions have been made." The Introduction discusses the same general matter — the career of Augustus, his aims as ruler of the State, his relation to literature; the life of Vergil and his poetry, especially the *Aeneid*, its purpose as a glorification of Rome and Augustus, and as an aid to the Emperor's religious reforms; the success of the poem, its merits, and its repute; its grammar, style, and prosody and its mythological background — and concludes with a brief statement concerning the MSS and a selected bibliography.

There is hardly a section, however, where new matter has not been added or some change made with a view to greater clarity and precision, especially in those sections devoted to Vergil's grammar and style. Here I am glad to note the addition of a paragraph (p. 89) dealing with the use of adjectives and participles as carriers of the main burden of the thought where we in English may use an abstract noun, and a greater emphasis (p. 88) upon the proleptic use of adjectives, really a distinctive mark of Vergil's style. The only striking omission is that of all mention of a caesura, to which a page (76) in the old edition was devoted. Now Professor Knapp writes of word grouping and pauses in the sense only (p. 104). In this I am inclined to think that he is wise, although the fact that, among the examples of hiatus which he quotes (sec. 292), practically all occur at a caesura, shows that the question is not definitely settled. In the discussion of the purpose of the *Aeneid* and its merits (pp. 48-55; 59-64), I could wish that he had made a place for passing reference, at least, to the deeper aspects of the poem, to its value as setting forth a philosophy of life and ethical views which have a distinct appeal in the light of our problems of today. There was not, however, room for everything, and certainly Professor Knapp has given us so much that is essential for a proper understanding of the *Aeneid* that it is ungrateful to complain because he has not given us more.

This book and its companion volume are splendidly printed: the somewhat unsatisfactory reproductions of coins contained in the old edition have been replaced by five new full-page illustra-

tions; the Vocabulary, which is the same in both books, has been enlarged and is a model of correctness both in matter and in form. The only change to which I, writing from the point of view of a teacher, cannot be reconciled, is the omission in this edition of the splendid Index contained in the old; even the numerous cross-references cannot make up for the loss of that.

As one compares the notes in the two editions, one is struck with the evidence they afford of the editor's open-mindedness, of his willingness to give a fair hearing to new evidence and to change his views if the evidence justifies such a change. In the old edition, e. g., no reference is made to the depth and sincerity of Aeneas' love for Dido; but in the new this, the essential element in the story, is emphasized throughout; cf. the notes on iv, 281, 292, 331; v, 6; vi, 453-55. Again, there has been a complete change in the punctuation and interpretation of the difficult passage in vi, 743-51. Professor Knapp has now given up his doubts concerning the completeness of the passage and, instead of taking the *donec*-clause with *exurit* and reading vss. 743 f. as a parenthesis, he agrees with Norden in construing the temporal clause with *tenemus*: the select few (*pauci*), among whom is Anchises, inhabit Elysium until their purification is complete and they are absorbed into the *anima mundi*; they stand in strong contrast with *has omnes*, who must undergo rebirth. This is, I think, an improvement over his former interpretation; but I still feel that the suggestion of Dieterich,¹ to construe the *donec*-clause with *has omnes*, has, in spite of the unusual position of the temporal clause, much to commend it.

In writing his notes, Professor Knapp has always kept the young pupil in mind, and he has made the way for him as easy (perhaps too easy) and as profitable as it can possibly be made. For every difficulty in word usage, construction, interpretation, which might perplex the pupil at this stage of his study, there is wise guidance. He is skillfully led, by careful cross-references, to learn Vergil by studying Vergil, and he is helped to an under-

¹ Cf. *Nekyia*, Beiträge zur Erklärung der Neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse: Leipzig, Teubner (1893), 156 f.

standing of the art of translation by the editor's happy rendering of many a word and phrase. Translation is the final test of one's understanding and appreciation, and here Professor Knapp may well be a teacher to us all. Vergil's language is so full of meaning, his thought oftentimes so deep and so rich in emotion, that no two readers can in every case be affected in the same way. It is not often, however, that I find myself differing from Professor Knapp's interpretation; and where I do differ, I realize that he may well be right. Thus, I cannot feel that the words of Aeneas in i, 378, *sum pius Aeneas*, are spoken in the "self-gratulatory tone" which he assigns to them in his note on iv, 654. Aeneas speaks, it seems to me, in the bitterest irony: he has done his duty, he has followed the guidance of the gods; and the only result of his sacrifice of self is his present woe. Otherwise the words which follow in vss. 385 f, *querentem* and *dolore*, have no meaning.

The notes to the selections from the last six books are written with the same care and fullness which characterize those to the earlier books; and the selections themselves are such that they will, if a teacher is careful to supply the substance of the omitted parts, give the pupil a clear idea of the unity of the poem and of its real meaning.

The second volume is identical with the first, except for the substitution of selections from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for the selections from the last six books; of the *Aeneid* and the addition of an Introduction (pp. 503-15), which gives a concise and satisfactory account of Ovid's life, his works other than the *Metamorphoses*, an analysis of the *Metamorphoses*, its characteristics, its popularity, and a brief Bibliography. The selections, which are drawn from the first eleven books, are perhaps as representative as any others might be of Ovid's striking ability as a storyteller.

MARBURY B. OGLE

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

A. S. COOK AND OTHERS, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VI, "Macedon": Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (1927). Pp. xxiii+648, with 8 maps and 7 tables and plans. 35s.

Volume V of this series was entitled "Athens"; the present volume carries the subtitle "Macedon." It covers the years 401-301 B.C., the years when the area of low pressure shifted from Athens to the north, where the tempest developed which wrecked the old Greek city-state and scattered the seeds of Hellenism broadcast over the East.

The general character of this monumental ancient history and its plan have been discussed in previous reviews, and it is unnecessary to comment further on them here. Any history compiled by a committee of specialists will gain much in accuracy, perhaps; but it will always lack the unity and life which a single great writer can impart to the pageant of history.

In the present volume Mr. Tarn has written the chapter on Persia and the political history of Alexander and his successors. Mr. M. Cary has contributed the chapters that deal with the history of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes. Professor Bury and Mr. Hackforth have taken for their part the history of Sicily, Dr. Hall the history of Egypt, and Dr. Cook Palestine. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge has given a full account of the career of Philip in two chapters. Mr. Cornford and Dr. Baker have treated the philosophical and political history of the period, and Professor Beazley and Mr. Robertson have discussed the development of art and architecture. All the chapters in the volume have been contributed by British scholars.

Being, as it is, a product of British scholarship, one expects this volume to be written in a clear and attractive style, and in this expectation the reader is not disappointed. The authors are not burdened by the magnitude of their task. One is cheered on his way by phrases like these: "Xenophon's simple faith in a busy providence" (p. 308), and the "mazelike design" (of the foundations of the tholos at Epidauros) "has furnished much speculation of religious rather than architectural interest" (p. 549).

There has been a tendency of late years among English scholars to rewrite all Greek military history. The present volume is somewhat tainted with this. On p. 8 we are told that Xenophon's account of the battle of Cunaxa is unsatisfactory: "he saw little of it." Of this last statement there is no proof whatever. Xenophon was certainly with the van of the Greek troops when the battle opened, or else he is a most circumstantial liar. He was a man of military experience and his account of the battle should be and, in my judgment, is an unusually reliable document. It is certainly most inconsistent to accept as inspired the testimony of the poet Aeschylus for Salamis and reject the testimony of the soldier Xenophon for Cunaxa. But this is a minor matter. As a whole, the tendency to deny a fact because a Greek historian has affirmed it—a practice which has vitiated Mr. Munro's account of the Persian Wars in an earlier volume of the series—is happily absent from this volume. Justice is at last done Herodotus (pp. 141 f). Mr. Tarn and Mr. Pickard-Cambridge have given us a sympathetic and at times eloquent account of Philip and Alexander. In particular, I wish to express my gratitude for the analysis of Alexander's character (pp. 423-27), although I am not sure that Mr. Tarn is right in affirming that Alexander was fortunate in dying young (p. 423). Perhaps length of days would have brought him no new laurels, he had gathered so many; but after the whirlwind of his conquests it might have brought to a troubled world a long and peaceful afternoon.

The chapters on Greek thought—political and philosophical—are of special interest and are written in a lucid style that is wholly gratifying to the nonphilosophical reader. One statement seems to me hardly justifiable: "Whether . . . Socrates believed in gods or in immortality is a doubtful question" (p. 307). If the *Apology* is to be made the sole basis of judgment, the author is perhaps correct; but the *Phaedo* seems to put Socrates' belief in immortality beyond question.

The chapter on the architecture of the period seems at times to fall nearly to the level of a mere catalogue of the buildings. In discussing the use of the arch (p. 558) the barrel vault of the

spring on Acrocorinth might well have been mentioned. Yet the account is by no means a dry catalogue. The death of the Doric order and its rebirth in the Ionic is a delightful metaphor (p. 550): "Doric has drunk the spirit of Ionic and a new style has been born"; and we are truly indebted to Professor Beazley for his admirable account of the fourth-century art, particularly his brief but enlightening critique of the Battle of Issus (p. 545).

The volume is well equipped with clear maps so printed that they can be spread out and consulted while the text is being read. If one were to select the most admirable feature of a notably good book, it would be the excellent bibliographies — and here especial mention should be made of Mr. Tarn's bibliography on Alexander and his successors.

Bound into the Preface on p. ix is a narrow slip of paper on which is announced the death of Professor Bury, the editor-in-chief of the series — a loss recorded with deep grief by his fellow editors — a grief shared by a multitude of his admiring readers.

LOUIS E. LORD

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS, GREECE

EUGENIE STRONG, *Art in Ancient Rome* (Ars Una, Species Mille Series), 2 Vols.: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1928). Pp. 199+208; figures in text 248+336.

The author of these two little volumes is no stranger to America. She was the Charles Eliot Norton memorial lecturer before the societies of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1912-13. Her two volumes on *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*,¹ her many writings in archaeological magazines, and her many years in Rome as assistant director of the British School of Archaeology guarantee her suitability as the author of one of the handbooks in the Ars Una Series.

The fact that in two volumes of 407 pages there are 584 illustrations, will make it clear how valuable such a work is for gen-

¹ New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1911); there was a later Italian edition in 1923-25.

eral reference. To be sure, the illustrations are small; but in most instances they serve every necessary purpose. The subject is a vast one, and to condense it was no easy task, taking into consideration the need to meet the format requirements of the books in the series. Mrs. Strong, however, has met the requirements and in her short descriptive narrative has brought into wide play her comparative knowledge and at the same time has produced both a scholarly and a most interesting history of Roman art.

A particularly valuable part of the volumes are the short but well-chosen bibliographies at the end of each one of the nineteen chapters. In the narrative the author has adopted the chronological scheme, and under each epochal period has treated its own sculpture, painting, and minor arts; but she has carried through a continuity in each of the arts in a quite satisfactory way.

There are a number of discrepancies of a minor character which can be eliminated in another edition. On p. 22 of Vol. I one notices that Rome was captured by the Gauls in 391 B.C., but on pp. 32 and 35 it is given as 388 B.C. On p. 87 Caesar is called the "adopted father" of Augustus; "adoptive" is the proper word, of course. The author does not make it quite clear that Roman brick work is really brick-faced work, i. e. bricks tailed into the concrete, or rather triangular bricks laid first so as to break joints and then concrete poured in between the facings. On p. 46 of Vol. II Mrs. Strong speaks of myrrhine vases "in the new museum at New York." As she is usually very careful in her nomenclature, it would have been well to have stated first which of the new museums in New York was meant. Her spelling of Leptis Magna should be Lepcis Magna. One thinks also that if the author had been able to see Randall-MacIver's book *Villanovans and Early Etruscans*,² she would have revised her opinion as to the early peoples of Italy. But these are criticisms of minutiae.

The greatest new contribution in the book is the massed evidence on the art of the Flavian period. She marshals the evidence in such a way that he will be daring who denies that the Flavians were tremendous factors in the history of Roman art.

² Oxford, Clarendon Press (1924).

These two volumes take rank at once as indispensable parts of a classical or art library. Mrs. Strong has done a very careful piece of work and deserves the gratitude she is sure to receive from lovers of the history of art and archaeology.

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL and ROBERT SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, a new Edition revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones with the Assistance of Roderick McKenzie and with the Cooperation of many Scholars, Part 3 (διάλειμμα — ἐξεντελιστής): Oxford, Clarendon Press (1927). Pp. 401-592. 10s.

The third section of the *Lexicon* contains a page of *addenda* and *corrigenda* for the three sections already issued. *Classical Philology* and the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* appear for the first time under the heading "Additions" on the first page. The great merit of the revision is the addition of new words from inscriptions and papyri and the citation of words in the later authors that had not appeared in the last edition. This service to scholarship is deserving of the highest praise. In the sentence *Ψεύσασθαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διομόσασθαι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησα* (Demosthenes XLVII, 73) the words *διομόσασθαι τὸν υἱὸν* do not mean "swear by his son's head." Dareste gives the correct rendering, "pour rien au monde je n'aurais voulu mentir devant vous ni me parjurer ni faire parjurer mon fils et ma femme"; cf. *Classical Philology* I (1906), 128, n. 3.

R. J. BONNER

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

A Play to be Put into Latin

Too often high-school pupils have the notion that the Romans were a stiffly formal set of beings who spoke only in highly stilted terms on subjects rather far removed from those which boys and girls find interesting today. To counteract this impression, the teacher might occasionally write a very simple playlet in ordinary, idiomatic English and ask the members of the class to put it into Latin, using only vocabulary, forms, and constructions which they have had. Needless to say, the wording of the play will require great care, and diligent observance of the forms and constructions which the class has had. When the play has been translated by the class, it may be staged by the Classical Club as a Latin play. The following is an example of such a play, intended for a first-year Latin class. A few suggestions for translation are given in brackets.

MARCIPOR'S LUCK [= fortune]

The People [*personae*]

M. Rutilius Victor, a young Roman

Marcipor, his small slave

Claudia, a Roman girl

Flora, her little maidservant

The place: In the street before Claudia's door.

Flora comes along the street, and approaches the door. She has just come from the market place and is carrying bread [panis, -is, m.] on her head. She seems happy, for she is singing.

Flora. La, la, la, la! (*Suddenly she hears a loud [= large] voice behind her.*)

Marcipor's Voice. Flora! Flora! Wait!

Flora. Oh, keep still! [= be silent] (*She does not look at Marcipor*)

Marcipor's Voice. Flora!

Flora. What do you want? (*Marcipor hurries towards her, and she sees him.*) Marcipor! Is it really you?

Marcipor. It really is! Here I am!

Flora. Oh, I'm so glad to see you! [= it is pleasing to me to see you]
When did you get back? [= come back, return] And how are you?
[= *quid agis?*] What did you see in Egypt? [*Aegyptus*, -i, f.] How's
your master? And —

Marcipor. I —

Flora. And were you afraid of the sea? Was the boat big? Were there
many sailors?

Marcipor. We —

Flora. Oh, hurry! [= hasten] Tell me all about the trip!

Marcipor. Then listen! [= hear] We got back today. I'm well [*valeo*]
and my master's well now, too, but he was sick on board [= in] the
ship. The waves were as high as a temple!

Flora. Oh! Was the ship wrecked? [= broken]

Marcipor. Almost. Even the sailors were scared to death [= were badly
frightened; use *perterreo*]

Flora. Were you afraid?

Marcipor. I? Not a bit. [= *minime*] And we saw — pirates!

Flora. Pirates!

Marcipor. Yes. [= *ita* or *certe*] They didn't come near us — our ship was
small — but we saw them!

Flora. How terrible!

Marcipor. I like terrible things. We saw Mt. Etna, too, in Sicily. It was
sending out fire and smoke. It often kills people, you know. [= as
you know]

Flora. Oh! — But didn't you see anything pleasant?

Marcipor. Oh, yes. Egypt —

Flora. Tell me about Egypt!

Marcipor. Alexandria's a beautiful city. We saw statues and temples and
theaters there, and a great library [*bibliotheca*, -ae, f.] My master
loved Alexandria.

Flora. And did you see the river Nile? [*Nilus*, -i, m.]

Marcipor. Yes. It's the biggest river that I ever saw. It seems as big
as the sea.

Flora. And is Egypt nicer [= more pleasing] than Italy?

Marcipor. No, Italy's best. Roman roads are best of all, too; it was good to see them again.

Flora. And are the girls pretty in Egypt?

Marcipor. I'll say! — But not so pretty as here.

Flora (*Laughs*). Aren't they?

Marcipor. No. And my master thinks so, too. [= thinks the same] He's been writing letters to your mistress' father, and —

Flora. Is she going to be engaged to him? [= will she be betrothed to him? betroth is *spondeo*, -ēre, *spondi*, *sponsus*]

Marcipor. I think so.

Flora. Really? That's news! [= you say new things]

Marcipor. And what news can you tell me?

Flora. I? News? — Oh! We have a new dog! [*canis*, -is, m.]

Marcipor. Have you? My master has two new slaves — black ones. [omit "ones"] He bought them in Egypt.

Flora. Do you want to see our new dog?

Marcipor. Yes! (*Flora goes in, then comes back without the bread and with a large dog. Marcipor is holding a bracelet [spinther, -eris, n.] but Flora does not see it.*)

Flora. Isn't he handsome? His name is Lion.

Marcipor. He certainly is handsome! Ho, Lion! Lion!

(*Flora leads the dog into the house, then returns.*)

Flora. My mistress' father gave him to her as a present. (*Claudia comes out through the door. Marcipor and Flora do not see her, but she looks at them.*)

Marcipor (*Suddenly*). And here's a present for you! (*He gives Flora the bracelet.*)

Flora. A present? For me? How beautiful!

Marcipor. I bought it with my own money. It's — (*A loud voice is heard.*)

Victor's Voice. Marcipor!

Flora. Oh! It's your master!

Victor's Voice. Marcipor! (*Victor comes along the street. He is angry.*)
What are you doing here?

Marcipor. I —

Flora. Oh, master Victor! He hasn't done anything wrong! [= he has done nothing of evil]

Victor. Marcipor! You've run away! [= you have fled]

Marcipor. Oh, no, master —

Victor. Then why are you here? I didn't send you.

Marcipor. This is my little friend, Flora, master —

Victor. Yes, I see her; but I didn't order you to come. You'll have a beating, Marcipor! [= you will be beaten; "beat" is *verbero*, -are]

Flora. Oh, dear master — (*Claudia comes out.*)

Claudia. Victor! You've come back!

Victor. Claudia!

Claudia. Marcipor's a good slave, Victor. He hasn't run away, and he isn't going to run away. [use future tense] You oughtn't to beat him. He wanted to see Flora. Don't you understand? And I want to see you. Come!

Victor (*He looks at Marcipor, then at Claudia; he laughs*). You're saved, Marcipor! — I'm coming, Claudia! (*Claudia and Victor go in.*)

Marcipor. Luck's with me today!

Flora. And now come with me, Marcipor, and tell me more [*plus*] about Egypt. — This is such a pretty bracelet! (*They go in.*)

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

HUNTER COLLEGE

Contract Method in Latin

NOTE. — The following material, mimeographed, is to be placed in the hands of each member of a class at the beginning of the contract period. The work of the D-contract must be done each day, but the work on the other contracts is submitted for credit whenever it is completed. The D-contract is required; the others are optional. A pupil completing a contract is allowed credit for any work done on the one next higher.

General Contracts

D-Contract

To earn a grade of D (70-75)

1. Do satisfactory work in the assignment contracts.

C-Contract

To earn a grade of C (76-83)

1. Do satisfactory work in the assignment contracts.
2. Make an outline of Cicero's life and, using this outline, write a brief biography.
3. Learn the first ten lines of Cicero's *Oratio Prima*.
4. Make two pages for your notebook. These pages may contain any material relating to Cicero or to the times in which he lived.

B-Contract

To earn a grade of B (84-91)

1. Same as under C-Contract 1.
2. Same as under C-Contract 2.
3. Learn the first twenty lines of Cicero's *Oratio Prima*.

4. Read and make an acceptable outline of Chapters xv and xvi in W. S. Davis, *A Day in Old Rome*.¹
5. Make five pages for your notebook.

A-Contract

To earn a grade of A (92-100)

1. Same as in B- and C-Contracts.
2. Same as in B- and C-Contracts.
3. Learn first chapter of Cicero's *Oratio Prima*.
4. Same as under B-Contract.
5. Make a map of Rome at the time of the Conspiracy.
6. Read twenty-five lines of Sallust's *Catiline*.
7. Make ten pages for your notebook.

Assignment Contract on *Oratio Prima* (Chapters I-VII)

Chapter I.

1. Give the construction of the following: *patientia, habendi, nostrum, oculis*.

Chapter II.

1. Give the construction of the following: *videret, detrimenti, patre, consulibus, deponendam, mihi, qui . . . audeat, ne . . . possis*.

Chapter III.

1. Give the construction of all verb forms in the chapter.

Chapter IV.

1. Find the following figures of speech in this chapter: asyndeton, anaphora, chiasmus, climax, assonance, alliteration.
2. Find the following forms: an active periphrastic infinitive, a supine, a genitive of the whole.

Chapter V.

1. Give the construction of the following: *Quae . . . sint, perge, dis immortalibus, mihi*.
2. Pick out five verbs in the subjunctive and tell why each is used.

Chapter VI.

1. Write out the translation of the first fourteen lines of this chapter.
2. Give the construction of *tibi*, line 16, and of the same word in line 20.

Chapter VII.

1. Write out the translation of the first thirty lines of this chapter.
2. Give the construction of the following words: *odio, paulo, tibi* (two uses), *ferendum*.
3. Give the reason for the use of each subjunctive in the chapter.

EXHA DENNIS AKINS

WILBER HIGH SCHOOL

WILBER, NEBRASKA

¹ Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1925).

Bimillennium Vergilianum

The Committee on Celebrations in Colleges, appointed by the American Classical League, expresses the earnest hope that every college and university in the United States and Canada will endeavor at some time before the end of the year 1930 to observe the memory of Rome's greatest poet by some special celebration in his honor. Among the many suggestions brought to the attention of the committee, the following are likely to prove most helpful to those who have charge of local celebrations: public lectures on Vergil by some scholar or writer of distinction; popular lectures on Vergilian subjects for nonclassical clubs or other groups; talks on Vergil to be broadcast by the radio; a Vergil evening, with appropriate music, readings, and lectures; an advanced reading course in Vergil in 1930; a session of the local classical club to be devoted to Vergil; cooperation in Vergil study among the departments of Latin, English, and Italian; the offering of a prize, preferably a medal, for the best essay, poem, or play dealing with Vergil; a Vergilian pageant; and an exhibition of Vergilian books, manuscripts or facsimiles, pictures, and the like. The chairman of the committee is Professor H. Rushton Fairclough of Stanford University, who is, however, to be abroad during 1929-30. Professor C. K. Chase of Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., is vice-chairman.

English Words of Interesting Derivation ¹

abridge	armistice	carnival	copy
adieu	arrears	cattle	corroborate
alarm	auspice	ceiling	corrugate
alimony	aviator	common	courage
alumnus	bib	company	crinoline
amount	cabbage	compunction	curfew
anguish	candidate	conclave	dandelion
annihilate	cape	connive	dean
antediluvian	cardinal	consider	decapitate
arena	carnation	contemplate	décolleté

¹ Excerpted from Marie B. Denneen, *English Derivatives from Latin* (Master's thesis): University of Minnesota, unpublished (1922).

deliberate	insect	parasol	segregate
delirious	insolent	pecuniary	sentence
dénouement	interfere	percolate	sermon
depot	interval	perpendicular	siesta
deuce	inundate	pilgrim	solarium
dilapidate	irrigate	prevaricate	soldier
dismal	leisure	prison	souvenir
eliminate	lettuce	privilege	spouse
emancipate	license	procrastinate	statue
equinox	lieutenant	profane	supercilious
eradicate	mayor	proletariat	supple
exaggerate	mean	propaganda	sure
exempt	mezzanine	proscription	tantalize
expatiate	monster	prudent	terrier
expedite	morsel	purple	toast
exquisite	municipal	radish	tortoise
fame	nave	ray	trance
foreign	nonchalance	recruit	trident
illicit	noon	remorse	umbrella
immediate	onion	revenue	vaccinate
impair	orion	roam	valentine
inaugurate	Pacific	romance	ventriloquist
indelible	pain	rostrum	verb
indolence	palm	ruminate	vinegar
infant	pansy	salary	volume
infantry	paraffin	season	

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Arthur P. McKinlay, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Cornell College

The Latin Club at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Ia., spent the year 1928-29 in a study of Roman Private Life. At the first meeting of the year Professor Franklin Potter of the State University of Iowa addressed the club on his travels in Italy. One of the most interesting meetings of the year was a "mock wedding" ceremony done after the fashion of the ancient Romans. The year's activities concluded with a dinner followed by "Roman stunts," the reading of Pliny's ghost story, a performance by a dancing girl, and some tricks of magic and juggling. During the coming year the club plans to study Greek and Roman art and mythology. The club usually meets at the home of Professor and Mrs. Mark E. Hutchinson.

Los Angeles

An event in classical circles of Southern California was the visit of Miss Frances E. Sabin and the dinner given in her honor on Sept. 4, 1929. Although many of the teachers were away on vacations, yet nearly three score and ten gathered to do honor to their friend and guest. After an informal reception, there followed a dinner and symposium on the problems confronting classical teachers. Professor Ruth Brown, University of Southern California, spoke on "Rejuvenation of the Schools." Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, for many years a teacher of

Latin and later Superintendent of Schools in Los Angeles, showed the part that the classics play in the news of the day. Miss Bertha Green, Dean of Women in the new Los Angeles Junior College, told of her experience with the young people and showed the appeal that the classics are making to the leaders among high-school students. Professor A. P. McKinlay, University of California at Los Angeles, spoke briefly on "The Teacher of the Classics." The chief event of the evening was Miss Sabin's own vivid account of the work of her Service Bureau and her hopeful suggestions for the future. The program had been arranged by Miss Grace McPherron and Dr. Walter A. Edwards of the Los Angeles High School. The only regret of the evening was that Dr. Edwards, owing to illness, was not able to be present. Miss Anne E. Edwards, retiring president of the Classical Association of the Pacific States, Southern Section, presided at the banquet.

Rome¹

Last March I sent to the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* a brief report on the excavations of the four temples in Rome in what is now called the Zona Argentina. The twenty-first of April, the birthday of Rome, was chosen as the fitting date for opening this new archaeological zone to the public, and the occasion was celebrated with some ceremony. The new zone was surrounded with a handsome balustrade on the Via tor Argentina and on the Corio V Morio Emmanuele sides, from which the excavations, some twenty feet below, may be viewed from the street. To relieve the bareness of the temples themselves the temple area was planted with small trees a few days before the opening. In digging a hole for one of these trees, between Temples B and C, the workmen came upon a colossal marble head of good workmanship, and later upon an arm, a hand, and two feet of the same scale and obviously belonging to the same statue, which, if standing, must have been some thirty feet high. As no other parts were found, the statue appears to have been of acrolithic type. The statue was obviously a draped female figure, wearing a helmet. No traces of the helmet have been found, but the treatment of the back of the head and neck makes it clear that the head was helmeted. The presence of the helmet naturally limits the identification to Athena, Bellona, and Roma. The favorite conjecture among the Italians at the time of finding was that the statue represented Bellona. I think that a case can be made out for another identification, but it is only fair to await the preliminary publication of the excavation by those in charge. As none of the four temples has thus far been definitely identified, the identification of the statue may have a considerable bearing upon the identification of the temple.

¹ Contributed by Professor Frederick Shipley of Washington University.

Recent Books¹

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

- ALDICK, CLARA, *De Athenaei Dipnosophistarum Epitomae Codicibus Erbacensi Laurentiano Parisino: Monasterii Guestfalorum, Aschendorff* (1928). Pp. 72.
- ASHBY, THOMAS, *Some Italian Scenes and Festivals*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1929). Pp. 194. \$2.50.
- BACON, F. NILES, *Diagnostic Tests in Latin*, based on Gray and Jenkins' *Latin for Today*, First Year Course, Tests 1-9; and Key: Boston, Ginn and Co. (1929). \$3.00.
- BETHE, ERICH, *Die Griechische Dichtung*: Wildpark-Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion M. B. H. (1924). Pp. 382.
- BROUGHTON, THOMAS ROBERT SHANNON, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1929). Pp. 242. \$2.25.
- BYRON, ROBERT, *The Byzantine Achievement; an Historical Perspective, A. D. 330-1453*: New York, Alfred A. Knopf (1929). Pp. 358. Ill. \$5.00.
- COLEMAN, ALGERNON, *The Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages in the United States* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. XII): New York, Macmillan Co. (1929). Pp. xx+299.
- CRUSIUS, FRIEDRICH, *Die Responsion in den Plautinischen Cantica* (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXI, Heft 1): Leipzig, Dieterich (1929). Pp. 143.
- FOLIGNO, CESARE, *Latin Thought During the Middle Ages*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1929). Pp. viii+120. \$1.75.
- HAYER, CARLTON JOSEPH HUNTLEY, and MOON, PARKER THOMAS, *Ancient and Mediaeval History*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1929). Pp. 914. Ill. \$2.60.
- HERBILLON, JULES, *Les Cultes de Patras avec une Prosopographie Patréenne*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press (1929). Pp. xvi+183. \$3.00.

¹ Including books received at Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City.